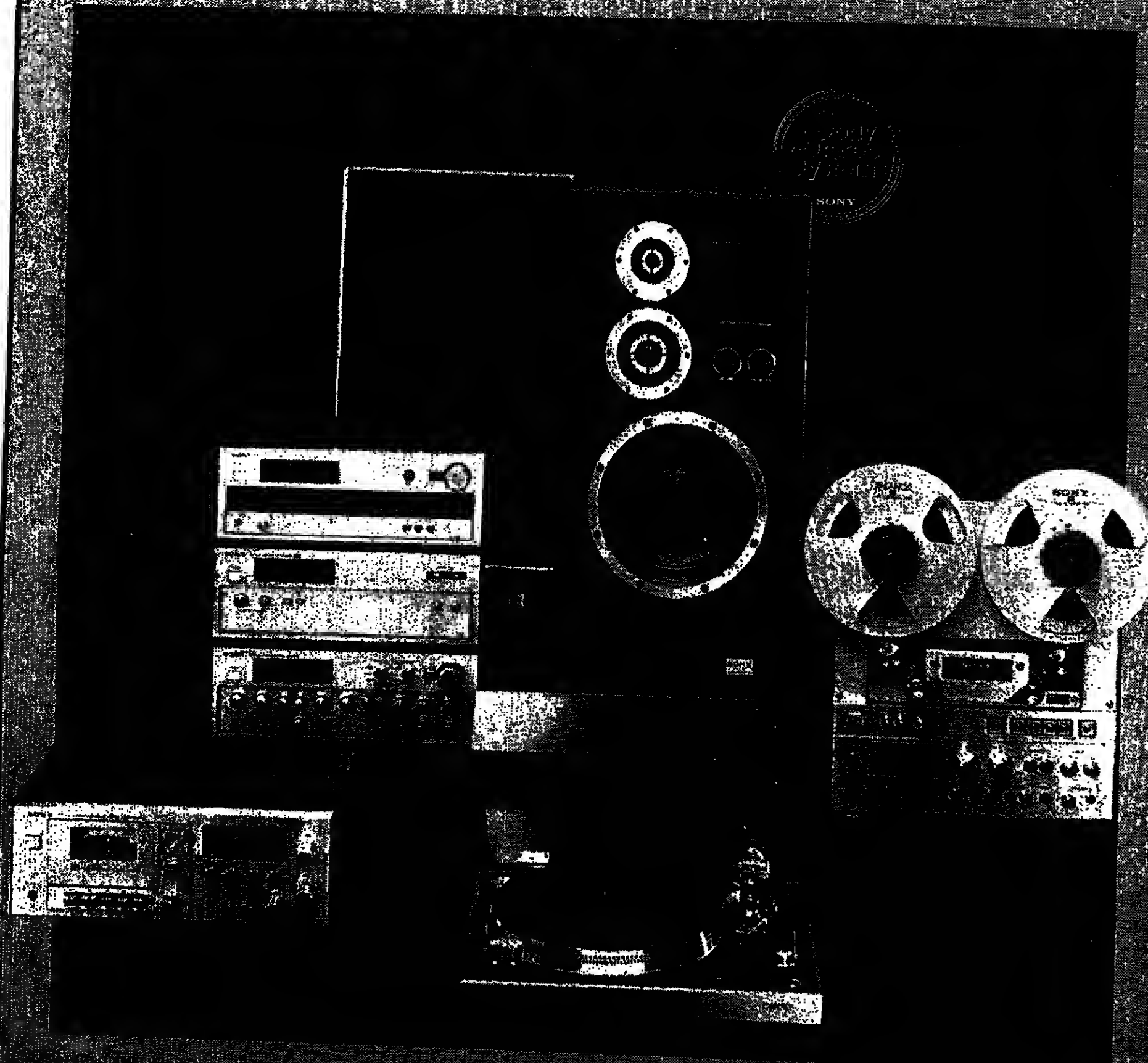


SONY®



ISFAR ELECTRONIC TRADING CO. LTD.
 P.O. Box 26130, TEL AVIV
 Please send me more details about _____
 Name _____
 Address _____
 Telephone _____

מוקדם מוליק/רמלה פירא

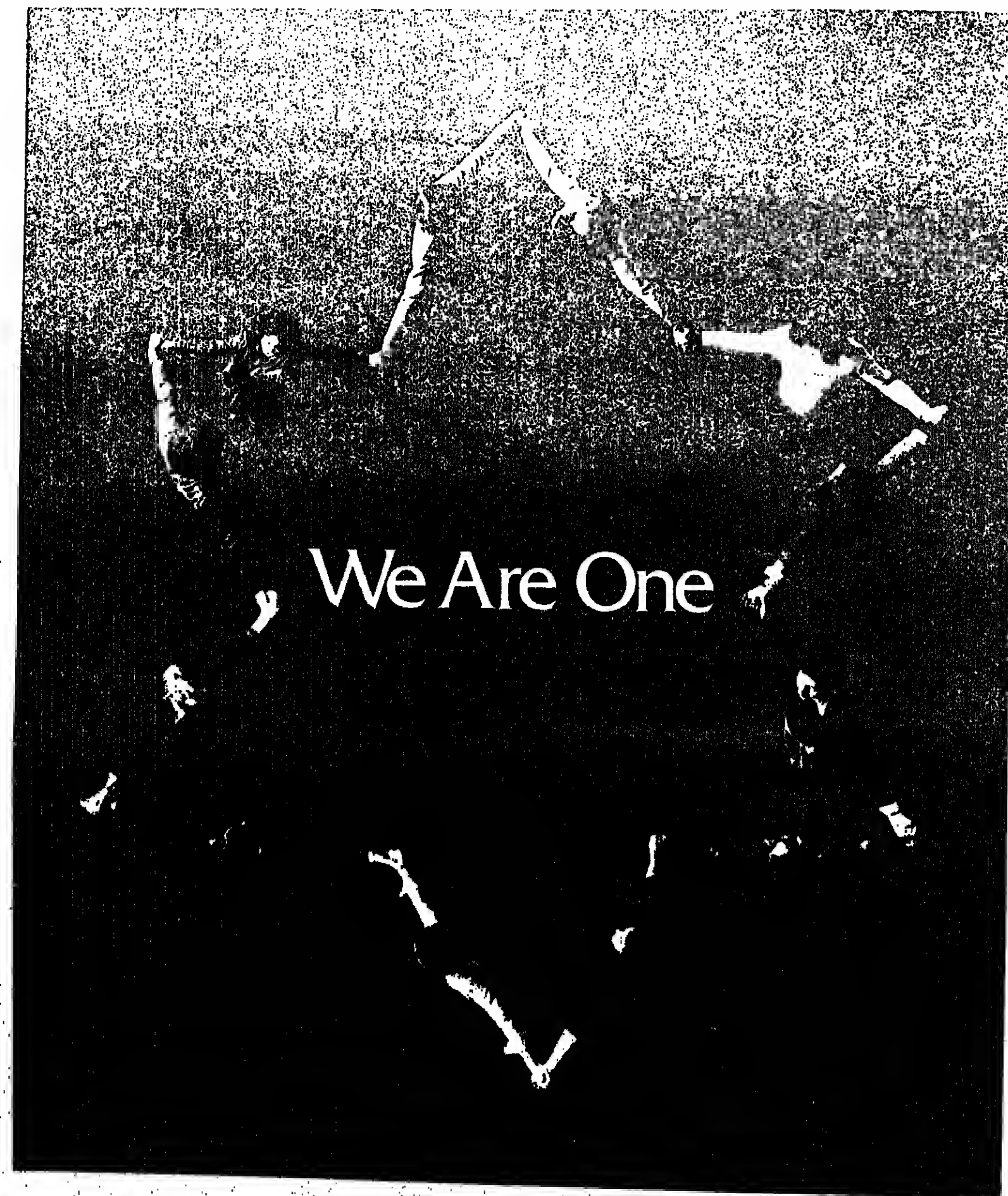
هكذا من الأصل

THE JERUSALEM
POST
 Supplement

29th Independence Day

Wednesday, April 20, 1977





We Are One

United Jewish Appeal

Frank R. Lautenberg
General Chairman

Paul Zuckerman
President

Irving Bernstein
Executive Vice Chairman

Chaim Vinitzky
Director - General, Israel

هكذا من الأصل



you never know where
you'll find maccabee next



maccabee
the international beer.

new york.melbourne.johannesburg.athens... also available in israel



Cover photo: Rubinger.

In this issue

	Page
A Post symposium on the country's economic situation, with Yitzhak Ben-Aharon, Moshe Sanbar, Avraham Shavit, and Professors Ephraim Kleiman and Nadav Halevi.	5
Norman Podheretz, editor of Commentary, tells David Avidan of his fears for Israel's survival.	11
Lea Ben Dor relives the siege of Jerusalem during the War of Independence. Poems by David Rubinger.	14
I.L. Kenen recalls his experiences with the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine in the months preceding the establishment of the State.	18

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the kibbutz movement, Yosef Gali and Moshe Kohn talk to three generations of kibbutzniks.

Naham Consuelo Rezac introduces a selection of Oriental Jewish folk-tales.

The Book Section. Reviews include a history of ancient Egypt (Eva Dandani); a study of the Middle East problem by Egyptian author Mohamed Sid Ahmed; Albert Einstein's essays on Peace (Jakob Hessing); Aris Lova Eliav's study of Israel society (Arthur Saul Super); the official history of Daoud (Robert D. Kaplan); a collection of Herzl's articles in the Neue Freie Presse (Alexander Zvielli). Other reviews by Rodney Frankle, Evelyn Strouse and Jennie Tarabulsi.



The Jerusalem Post economic symposium, left to right, Moshe Sanbar, Avraham Shavit, Post staffer Ya'acov Reuel, Economic Editor Meir Merhav, Yitzhak Ben-Aharon and Nadav Halevi. (Sunphot)

We have had three years of virtual stagnation. The official theory is that there must be structural change, that we must divert our output and our growth to exports. Perhaps Mr. Shavit would care to tell us whether there really is any such thing as export growth which is totally unrelated to what happens in the domestic market?

SHAVIT: I don't think so. I think one can emphasize exports, one can have selective investments, favouring those which have an export potential. But generally, industry relies on the domestic as well as the foreign market. Even if the proportion of exports is increased, there must be some base in the domestic market.

But the real problem, as I see it, is not so much that there is less readiness to invest as that the techniques of our investment promotion policies have deteriorated. For example, it took a year to get the new investment law approved.

Our prospects are in fact excellent. We have markets, we are entering into the European and American market, we have interesting products and we can deliver the goods. I think that one of the main causes of stagnation is the shortage of manpower for exports.

Isn't it true that although our good performance last year was attributed to Government policy, most of the growth in exports was the result of investments and sales efforts made before that policy existed?

SHAVIT: You can't really say that when things go well, the Government's policy had nothing to do with it, and when things go wrong, the Government is to blame. One must see things in their totality. Of course it is the investments made in the early seventies which are now bearing fruit; but at the same time the policy of mini-devaluations gave the exporters some confidence that the relative profitability of exports would be maintained. Industrialists believe that the Government will maintain that policy.

But there is no doubt that the stagnation of investment in the last three years will cost us dear in the years to come, and growth will not be what it has been recently.

BEN-AHARON: I also think we have excellent conditions for a take-off into renewed growth, assuming that we adopt the right policies. We have sufficient markets to ensure us the margin of growth we need. But we should not overlook the great

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

Members of The Jerusalem Post staff recently met with five important figures in the Israeli economic scene. Taking part in the symposium were: former Histadrut secretary-general YITZHAK BEN-AHARON; former Bank of Israel governor MOSHE SANBAR; Manufacturers Association president AVRAHAM 'BUMA' SHAVIT; and Hebrew University economists PROF. EPHRAIM KLEIMAN and PROF. NADAV HALEVI.

possibilities offered by import substitution. What I have in mind is especially the defence industries, which should be regarded as equivalent to exports in all respects.

Second, we have much unused productive capacity, which could be expanded considerably with very little investment. We wouldn't need huge imports to increase our capacity by, say, 20 or 30 per cent.

Third, there is the problem of manpower. We appear to have no manpower reserves, especially since aliyah is small. But we do have disguised unemployment which represents a considerable reserve.

Fourth, and most important, we have a large and inadequately utilized pool of know-how. I think the Government's policy in promoting research and development has been correct.

I don't think our problem is really so much the profitability of exports. Some exports are remunerated more than adequately — in some cases it may have reached the stage where exporters have almost been "bribed."

The most important point I'd like to make is that we all rely too much on the Government. We have to realize that there are serious limitations on what the Government can do.

What we need is some sort of joint effort, some round table, in which all concerned will participate — including the manufacturers, the farmers, the Histadrut, the universities, the researchers. We must have some way of planning jointly. I regret today that most of the resistance to planning has come from my party comrades, from people with a socialist orientation. I believe that we must have a planning

body which will indicate the path, allocate resources and establish priorities. I consider that an essential condition for growth.

The question is what prevents growth, what are the constraints? Perhaps Mr. Sanbar would care to comment on that.

SANBAR: Our policy should really be such that growth will come primarily from exports. To that end, we should — and I am willing to accept Mr. Ben-Aharon's term — even "bribe" exporters. Exports must be made profitable in the long run. The Government should not be afraid, if necessary, to devalue the currency. Only with long-term profitability will there be investment in export industries.

Simultaneously, conditions in the domestic market must be made less favourable. The economy simply cannot afford both. Once the domestic market is made less profitable, production will shift into exports.

We must also see to it that exports remain competitive, through rising productivity. Accelerated export growth does not necessarily mean stagnation in everything else. But exports must grow sufficiently rapidly for us to be able to afford a rise in consumption and, even more important, in investments.

The important thing, I think, is not so much what to do, but to do it consistently and with perseverance. If a solution is not brought about by policy, then it will come of itself, through recession and unemployment. What we do not want is structural change which is the result of catastrophe, the lack of foreign exchange.

The question is really, whether the improvement in the balance of payments, which is the generally accepted goal, can or should come

only from a re-allocation of existing output or whether it should come from the margin of growth? Perhaps Prof. Kleiman would like to say something on this.

KLEIMAN: I am going to say something very unpopular and tie the question to some of the things which Mr. Sanbar said. I think we are very lucky that the Government has not been able to implement its policy consistently. I am frightened by the thought of what might have happened had it succeeded. In that case, I believe, we would have had a repetition of the 1966-67 depression, and that is the last thing Israeli society can afford nowadays.

Do you think a recurrence of 1966-67 has been avoided, that we aren't on the eve of a new recession?

KLEIMAN: I think we are dangerously near the brink of a recession. All the time. So far we haven't come to it, but it may happen.

The question whether we can change our economic structure through growth or whether we must stop growth to achieve it is an old argument in Israel. Still, it was always accepted that it is much easier to share out the addition to output rather than redistribute the existing national cake. It is obviously much easier to gear a new factory to exports than to convert an existing one from the domestic to the foreign market.

In 1966-67 we went to the other extreme and said: since we haven't succeeded in diverting the margin of growth to improving the balance of payments, let's re-allocate the output we have. The results are well known.

As to what has happened in the last few years, I think we have a

combination of circumstances. For some years, according to all the indicators, the economy has been in a state of great uncertainty. It has been a constant see-saw. At times it seemed that the economy was just about to slide into a large-scale depression — and then the Government suddenly injected more money into it and the slump was prevented.

One of the symptoms of that uncertainty is the hoarding of labour. When there is a slow-down in production, but no certainty that things won't pick up again soon, firms will not fire their workers. I think the decline of investment is also a result of that uncertainty.

I think this is a bad state of affairs. It may be that this policy has achieved something, that there has been some structural change. But if so, it was not obtained in the most efficient way, quite apart from the high price paid for it in terms of output forgone.

Mr. Shavit spoke earlier of the shortage of labour, but I would add that enterprise is even more important. If the entrepreneur does not want to export, it won't help much to have workers thronging his gates, nor will it help if the Government is willing to give him credit.

What seems to have happened — and this may have produced such structural change in favour of exports as we have — is that domestic demand has not fallen off as precipitously as in 1966-67. That has given producers some time to re-orient their activities, to look for markets abroad. Apparently, the last few years have squeezed producers enough to force them to go into exports, but not enough to choke them.

In that sense, then, the slow-down of the last three years may have had some beneficial results, but the great danger in such a situation is that we may slide into a deep recession before we know it.

HALEVI: I think we ought to return to the question of whether Israel can afford not to grow. Let's assume that someone were to say we have to give up six or seven years of growth in order to attain the desired long-term structural change. Can we afford that?

In my view, it would involve very great dangers — social dangers, the danger to olivya, the danger of changing the image of the economy from a rapidly growing one to one that is marking time.

I don't believe there can be

(Continued overleaf)

celebrate Israel's independence every week

THE JERUSALEM POST INTERNATIONAL EDITION

Fifty-two times a year we celebrate with on-the-spot coverage from where it's happening. Features, in-depth articles, reviews, news, cartoons. Keeps you much more informed. Fifty-two times a year. Celebrate with us. Complete coupon on page 31

The gift for all seasons

PERFUMES
JUDITH MULLER
ISRAEL

AVAILABLE IN DUTY FREE SHOPS ON BOARD EL AL AIRLINES
HOTEL GIFT SHOPS, PERFUMERIES
GASHEVA ARTS AND CRAFTS
BENYO FRUG, CORNER FRISCHMANN
AND AT OUR FACTORY SHOWROOM
SADISRAELI ST. ON THE CARMEL, HAIFA

DZIGAN'S NATIONAL THEATRE

S. DZIGAN

and grand company in a topical political satire

MLEKT NISHT KAIN HONIK
(Not on Honey Do They Feed)

Director: Daal V'it
Musical Director: A. Lusky
Decor: Adina A. Aich

Tel Aviv: Ohel Shem, Tomorrow, Thursday, April 21, 8.30 p.m.

Ramat Gan, Ramat Bat, night, April 23, 7 p.m. and 9.15 p.m.

Tel Aviv, Ohel Shem, Tuesday, April 26, 8.30 p.m.

Netany, Sharon, Thursday, April 28, 9 p.m.

Haifa, Shavit, Sat. night, April 30, 9 p.m.

A. Deshe (Pashanel) presents an

Independence Ball

Binyanei Ha'ooma, Jerusalem
Independence Day, tomorrow
Thursday, April 21—9 p.m.

Sensational International Variety Show

International Singers from the U.S.A.

Shaika Ophir Israel's Greatest Pantomime

Yafa Yarkony Israel's Greatest Singer

Moti Gilady Israel Humourist (In English)

"Druse" Druse Folk Dancing and Singing Group

"Kalinka" Russian Dancing and Singing Group

Tickets at: Cehana, Ben-Naim and Binyanei Ha'ooma
Reserve at your hotel!!!

הכרזה מן האל

growth only from exports, although I think that is where the emphasis should be. Even our production for the domestic market must be of a kind that can increasingly be shifted to exports, that can stand up to foreign competition. A great deal has already been achieved in that direction, and perhaps our association with the European Common Market will give us another big push.

I should like to touch on a problem which is related to the wage problem. After about three years of non-growth, we still see that there has been little shift of manpower into export industries. One would have expected that with some three years of standstill, the changes would have been greater. This is all the more surprising because in other respects the shifts of manpower have been quite remarkable. Also, industrial wages have gone up, relatively, and yet the industrial labour force has not increased.

Perhaps I should ask Mr. Ben-Aharon — isn't it possible that the rise in the standard of living has created a new attitude to work and leisure, that people prefer easier jobs, that they prefer to be clerks rather than work in industry? In other words, how do you counter the tendency for a "nice Jewish boy" to want to go and work in the public services — contrary to the values we used to have?

BEN-AHARON: That is something that everybody has to take care of first of all in his own home.

Maybe one should also mention a point that Aharon Dovrat, general manager of Ciol, (Israel's biggest private enterprise conglomerate) emphasized a few days ago: the intimate connection between growth, investment and technical progress. To compete with our foreign competitors, we have to invest in order to match their technical advances. Perhaps Mr. Shavit would like to say how he sees this aspect. After all, he has his finger on the pulse...

SHAVIT: No one really has a finger on the pulse any more. I am surprised every day by what I see in industry. I agree with Mr. Ben-Aharon that we never had such a good launching pad for renewed growth. But this constant hovering on the brink of recession makes it very difficult.

When Prof. Kleiman talks of enterprise, we must realize that uncertainty is antithetical to enterprise... The constant possibility that we may slide into a recession means that firms become hesitant about going into new ventures. Enterprise means some daring. There must be a general atmosphere of doing, of development.

True, research has shown that Israel is potentially very attractive for foreign investors. But we have a problem — our bureaucracy. It is very difficult to invest in Israel. Very difficult. One needs almost superhuman powers to do it...

BEN-AHARON: One might think that you don't hear the same thing in other countries...

SHAVIT: That may be so, but I am trying to explain what happens here, not in other countries. Some of these difficulties are, of course, the result of ignorance of our conditions. We here know how to find our way in the bureaucratic labyrinth. We pick up the phone, make a call

here, a call there, and things arrange themselves. Not so for the foreign investor.

BEN-AHARON: Perhaps that has something to do with the absorptive capacity of the Manufacturers Association, too...

SHAVIT: Yes, we are also part of it, but we spend half our time merely opening doors for people instead of everything being simpler.

Just now, Mr. Shavit, you were emphasizing uncertainty; perhaps we could be a little more specific. Is it true that the biggest uncertainty factor is the inflation rate of 30 per cent?

SHAVIT: There can be no argument about inflation being a major cause of uncertainty. But it has many other components. I should like to stress once again the problem of manpower. We may not feel the shortage in Tel Aviv, but we need people in the development towns.

Another problem is that our services are not adequate for more exports and for entry into the Common Market. That means telephone and tele services, transport and ports and containers. While the public services have been swelling constantly, these services have not expanded enough.

Incidentally, I don't believe that dismissed government officials will go into the factories; but had there been a complete freeze in public service employment, the young people would have come into industry. I am told that half the graduates of the vocational schools find their way into the public services. Not because the pay is better but because they have to work less, or differently. That is what we ought to change. We have done a lot with regard to industrial wages in the last two years, and we have done it intentionally.

SANBAR: I must say that I disagree totally with Prof. Kleiman's statement that we are lucky that the Government has not succeeded in implementing its policy. I said that exports, and nothing but exports, must be the lever for advancing the economy. I did not go into the question whether we should redistribute existing output or re-allocate the annual increment of growth.

The truth is that the policy of the last few years, as it was designed, intended the latter. But this didn't happen. Instead, while exports went up, consumption, including defence, also went up, and investment fell off. That is how it came about that it wasn't the addition to output that was up for re-allocation, but that the whole national cake was shared differently.

But that happened because the Government gave in with regard to consumption. What is happening now is that money is being distributed for consumption. I think that kind of growth is a disaster...

KLEIMAN: You are attributing to me some things I didn't say. We've been having this argument for 12 years. Let's go back to what is common ground.

We are agreed that the ideal is an export-led growth. But if you don't get that, it's no reason to throw the economy into a recession of the 1966-67 type. Thank heavens that the Government didn't repeat that mistake...

SANBAR: We must remember our foreign position in all this. At the end of December, 1976, our

foreign debt was \$9.3b. and the interest we pay on that equals a quarter of the added value of our exports. Does anyone think we can continue like that?

Anyone who is concerned that we may slide into large-scale unemployment should be very careful when he proposes a more permissive policy, a policy of growth at any cost. The balance of payments problem is central, and our growing dependence on the U.S. is something that can't be easily ignored.

I think we have to continue our present policy, but we must carry it out consistently and with perseverance. Then it won't happen that the whole addition to the labour force will go into the public and financial services.

In the years of rapid growth, we had a long-term productivity rise of 8 per cent a year. This made our exports more competitive and also allowed for some rise in living standards. Under stagnation, productivity cannot grow. Perhaps Prof. Kleiman would like to say something on that.

KLEIMAN: I should like to sound a warning against so-called "strong" and consistent policies. In 1966-67, the Government was criticized because it brought the horse to water but could not make it drink. The Government caused a recession but did not make exports more profitable. Mr. Sanbar, you at the time were among those who said that making the domestic market unattractive was all that was needed to turn producers to exports. In the event, it turned out that producers have yet another choice — they can



stop producing. That may not be nice, and not just, but that is what they did.

BEN-AHARON: They can also speculate with money...

KLEIMAN: At least that possibility didn't exist in 1966-67. What happened then was that producers stopped producing, and the same danger exists today. It is also not very meaningful to say, like Mr. Sanbar, that in a certain year consumption went up while investment fell. We have to look at what kind of investment declined. Much of our investment is in building. We tie up enormous resources in housing, which is nothing but consumption until sterility, although it is defined as investment. Investment in construction, rather than in industry, has always taken the lead...

Now I should like to point out that when we talk about employment generated by the Government, it is not just the officials who matter. It is the vast proportion of our manpower that the Government employs via its purchases of goods. Government purchases from an industrial enterprise appear in the statistics as industrial output — but they are really anti-export. They have the same effect, from the point of view of balance of payments, as an official sitting in the Kirya...

SHAVIT: That may affect

perhaps 30,000 workers, so it's marginal.

KLEIMAN: I disagree. Industry which produces for the domestic market does not seem to me to have any priority over certain services.

I should also like to say a word about the bureaucracy which Mr. Shavit mentioned. I am the last to defend it, but it is really the other side of the coin of the heavy support which investors get from the Government. If you, Mr. Shavit, want less bureaucracy, then I suggest that the investors may perhaps give up some of the subsidies they are getting...

SHAVIT: I agree and I've proposed it myself.

KLEIMAN: What I should like to say, finally, is that if we accept Mr. Sanbar's approach of consistency at any price, then I must heartily disagree. The cost to Israeli society may be terrible. Our society has some cracks even now and there are great dangers in a situation which may at any moment get out of hand. After all, there is a limit to how long an economy can be kept simmering on a low flame. Firms will not continue to hoard labour forever. A moment will come when they will fire redundant workers, and then the situation may become explosive.

I am worried by newspaper reports about impending dismissals of workers after Pessah. Knowing my people, I can only assume that this is not yet seriously meant, and is only a means of applying pressure against wage demands. In any case, I am very worried that the situation may deteriorate quickly and suddenly...

Before we finish discussing the question of growth, Prof. Hilevi has a point to make.

HALEVI: The whole discussion about what rate of growth we can have, considering that our import components are quite rigid, is a question of magnitudes. Perhaps if the growth of exports in 1976 had been foreseen, it might have been concluded that not all the increase in our foreign income should have gone to improve the balance of payments. We might have decided that some of it could be used to become more liberal with investments that require a high proportion of imports.

I think there should be some compromise. Most of our growth should come from exports, but the improvement in the balance of payments, essential as it is, could be a little slower. In any case, exporters must be assured that exports will remain profitable in the long run. The uncertainty about this must be eliminated.

We come now to wage policy. Statistics show that only 54 per cent of private consumption is accounted for by the wage-earners. Is wage restraint enough, should there not be an overall incomes policy?

BEN-AHARON: The self-employed are fully compensated for inflation, the wage-earners are not. They get a 70 per cent cost-of-living allowance, and that adjustment itself is made once in six months, so that in the end they have been getting, according to one estimate, only 42 per cent.

My friends in the agricultural settlements rose up in anger against the dockers when fruit was left rotting on the quayside. I must ask their indulgence for saying this, but the dockers' strike was a legitimate struggle over the

division of the national income. All the talk about the need to honour signed collective agreements is no more than semantics. Contracts are broken in the first place not by the workers, but by the inflationary process itself. It erodes the purchasing power which employed persons are supposed to enjoy under the terms of the contract.

Is it feasible to actually lower living standards in Israel without assuring equality of sacrifice?

BEN-AHARON: The reverse is happening in some quarters, and I'm not referring to the wage-earners. The artificial "class" division that has been thought up between production and service workers is meaningless; there are not two such camps.

A lot, possibly 60 per cent of the population (this figure is a guess) receive incomes that do not derive from the work of their hands. I personally found it hard to vote for the Ben-Shahar tax reform. It was drafted in response to pressures by the well-to-do. Lowering the tax ceiling on higher incomes (it was reduced from 87.5 to 60 per cent) is unforgivable.

It is still easy to make a quick buck in Israel. No one can touch prices. They are not subject to control, they are treated as a cost. The whole economy is still based on costs-plus.

We are currently in a war situation. Not that there is shooting or casualties; but when 40 per cent of the national income is spent on defence, that in my view, is a war situation. And we cannot maintain living standards unchanged in a war situation.

SHAVIT: I don't accept the classification of all self-employed as one category. Industrialists, for example, suffer more from inflation than anybody. They pay tax on inflation, which the wage-earners don't.

But they are allowed to write off amortization in two years.

SHAVIT: Sure — at historical prices. What is more, technological change is liable to make a spindle genuinely obsolete in two years, anyway. The equipment cost you originally IL100,000 and that can be amortized. But the replacement will in all probability cost you oil of a million pounds.

The worker receives a cost-of-living allowance of only 70 per cent, admittedly; but that is not the only wage rise that comes his way during the year. It is a statistical fact that wages have risen in Israel on the average by one per cent more than prices. And, when the index goes up, so does the basis for calculating tax rates.

The Treasury's budgetary policy is responsible for 70 per cent of our present inflation. It should stop pumping excess money into circulation.

KLEIMAN: You would be the first to scream if that happened.

SHAVIT: Of course I would — in my capacity as a manufacturer. I speak with two voices; we all do. In my capacity, as an ordinary citizen, I think the budget should be cut.

I'm in favour of higher wages for production workers, and the industrialists have been good on that during the past year. I've said to employers who come to me, and complain that they are short of workers: "You won't get any applicants if you don't pay them more."

Yet it's hard to switch people to

(Continued on page 6)

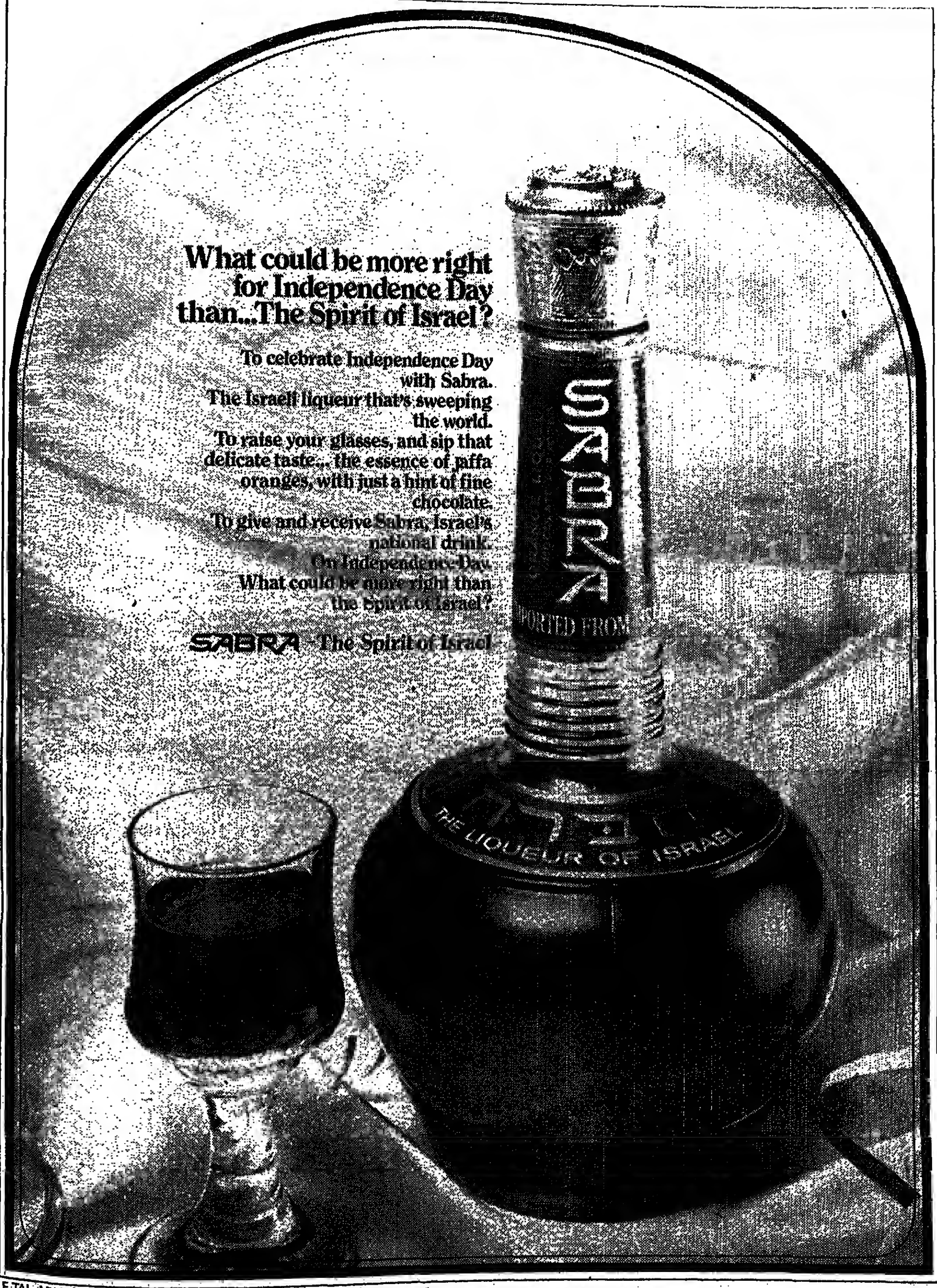
What could be more right for Independence Day than... The Spirit of Israel?

To celebrate Independence Day with Sabra. The Israeli liqueur that's sweeping the world.

To raise your glasses, and sip that delicate taste... the essence of pitta oranges, with just a hint of fine chocolate.

To give and receive Sabra, Israel's national drink. On Independence Day. What could be more right than the Spirit of Israel?

SABRA The Spirit of Israel



What can I do for Israel?

You must have asked yourself this question many times. You are deeply concerned about the future of Israel and want to help. Now you can.

OPEN A FOREIGN CURRENCY ACCOUNT WITH BANK LEUMI

Many people throughout the world who identify with Israel have opened foreign currency accounts with Bank Leumi, thus strengthening Israel financially and economically and at the same time reaping the benefits of competitive interest rates and exemption from Israeli income and inheritance taxes. Both deposit and interest are freely transferable abroad on maturity, in foreign currency.

BANK LEUMI - A HISTORY

Bank Leumi is the first and foremost banking group in Israel. Established in 1902 by Dr. Theodor Herzl as the financial instrument of the Zionist movement, it has been in the forefront of every worthwhile achievement in the fields of industry, commerce, agriculture, community planning, education and the arts in Israel for 75 years. Its name: Bank Leumi aptly describes its important role in shaping Israel's destiny.

YOUR MONEY IS IN SAFE HANDS

Bank Leumi has 353 branches in Israel and abroad with group assets of nearly 9.3 billion dollars.

Its vast network of offices and correspondent banks span over Europe, Australia and the Americas, with multi-lingual international banking services, time-tested financial knowhow and updated monetary information

OPENING AN ACCOUNT

You can open an account in the currency of your choice or a multicurrency account, thus taking advantage of our international facilities in currency transactions, foreign stocks and bonds and gold.

Just fill this coupon and mail it or call our Foreign Resident and Tourist Center, 33 Lilienblum St., Tel Aviv, (Tel. 03-51931). We are ready to help you help Israel.

Bank Leumi  **בנק לאומי**
LE-ISRAEL B.M. **לישראל ב.מ.**

Other International subsidiaries and representatives in:
New York, Chicago, Beverly Hills, Los Angeles, London, Paris, Zurich, Geneva, Nassau/Bahamas, Gr. Cayman Island, Miami, Toronto, Frankfurt/Main, Milan, Brussels, Antwerp, Buenos Aires, Caracas, Sao Paulo, Hong Kong, Johannesburg.

TOURIST CENTER
33 Lilienblum St., Tel Aviv

Please send me information on Supporting Israel through Bank Leumi.

Name _____ Address _____

ECONOMY

(Continued from page 6)

the jobs and workplaces where they are needed. A meeting was called once in Yeruham because 117 people had been fired and were jobless, at a time when there were 800 unfilled job vacancies in nearby Dimona — where some of the people unemployed in Yeruham actually lived.

I don't expect a mass transfer of labour from the services to industry. Some say that 20,000 people should be fired from the services; and I'm sure that number could be spared from a few sizable Government offices and municipalities. But I say not 20,000 — 500 will do. And when they are absorbed, another 500.

The entrepreneur does not need grants-in-aid. What he requires from the Government is simply that they create conditions under which he can make a decent living by his own efforts, that's all. I don't agree with the extremists: we don't have in Israel super-capitalists to face with super-Marxists. I don't know a capitalist here in the classic sense — someone who oppresses the toiling worker.

We have to change the image of industry, to introduce proper staff amenities. But some things we can't give — shorter summer hours, for example.

We need the Histadrut, we need trade unions. Works committees are something we could do without. They seek to win concessions over and beyond what the trade union has already secured...

SANBAR: The statement that 46 percent of the consumption is accounted for by the self-employed is not exact. Within the framework of these statistical categories, there is overlapping. The wage-earners include Shavit, and you, and me. The self-employed include members of the kibbutzim and moshavim.

As long as money is pumped into circulation by deficit budgeting, the employer can pass on any increased wage costs to his customers in the form of higher prices. How to stop this happening? Not by increasing the fiscal burden. Raising direct taxes would undermine the income tax reform and reduce profitability; hiking indirect taxes would push up prices. The right solution is to cut Government expenditure; and that — we should recognize — will hurt.

A word about the linkage of wages between different sectors. Industrialists lack manpower, so they offer bigger salaries to attract more workers. But if other sectors increase their wages automatically too, the problem of re-structuring the economy becomes insoluble.

HALEVI: The days when living standards could improve at the rate of 5-6 percent a year per head are over. It is important to ensure that all the belt-tightening is done equally. I have the impression that the national cake has come to be divided unevenly — not at the expense of the lowest economic sector, as it happens. Welfare payments have been increased in recent years. The burden is felt by the middle level of wage-earners. There is no wage policy in the public service, only a cash-box policy. It would have been wiser to make wage concessions voluntarily at strategic points — to the nurses — for example — before the recent wage explosion.

KLEIMAN: In spite of the statistical overlap between different categories of earners, it's no use denying that there are vast gaps of income and living standards in the country. That should not be swept under the carpet. You can see another gross example of maldistribution in agriculture. It was once said that prosperous, well-established villages got more financial aid than struggling new settlements. Today even some of those who used to be god-forsaken in the hills of Galilee have reached an income which is far above the average and still continue to get support.

There's a clash of interests here, between the farmers who sell the food and the urban wage-earners who buy it. We saw a symptom of this division in the recent dock strike, and the angry reaction of the farmers.

To improve the balance of payments, more money must be paid to those who make exports. Changing the structure of the economy in that way, especially in a no-growth situation, must lead to inflation — unless we are prepared to tolerate massive unemployment.

The present inflation is, for the first time ever (except perhaps for a spell in 1965) a cost inflation — that is, engineered by the Government, in a bid to change the structure of the economy. The only way to decrease inflation is to make some kind of cut in taxation, also in Government expenditure.

BEN-AHARON: That means cutting services.

KLEIMAN: Plenty of the services financed by the budget are designed to satisfy those who supply them rather than those who receive them. An example is the duplication of religious and non-religious trends in technical education. At the same time, it is imperative not to overdo these deflationary policies. The aim should be to avoid teetering over the edge into unemployment.

BEN-AHARON: Which will happen if we don't resume economic growth.

KLEIMAN: Right; it is impossible to keep the economy on a low flame for long.

SHAVIT: This 54-46 division of the national cake, as between wage-earner and self-employed: many wage-earners double up as self-employed in their spare time. I hardly know a salaried mechanic who doesn't do repair work in the evenings, a teacher who doesn't give lessons out of school, an accountant in the local authority who doesn't audit someone's books for a fee.

BEN-AHARON: Where Government expenditure is concerned, we ought to have two budgets, not one — a budget for defence and development, and a separate budget for the services.

Borrowed money should by rights go to finance development. In recent years we have been using part of it to finance the ordinary budget, that is, the social services. The lack of a clear demarcation between the ordinary and development budgets allows the Treasury to employ loan funds to bolster the country's living standards. We should be living off the fruit of our own toil.

This self-indulgence derives from the fact that there is never a final "no" in Government expenditure. A rigid separation between the two budgets might bring a greater realism into our affairs. □

Production: IL.9 Billion
Exports: 38%
24,000 Workers
Spearheading Israel's drive
for economic independence



The Highlights of Independence Day

TEL AVIV	JERUSALEM
Bett HaHayal	The Khan Theatre
Tonight, Wed., April 20	Tonight, Wed., April 20
Singer-Pianist	Composer-Singer
	SHALOM HANOCH
	"A Man Within Himself"
	accompanied by ALONA TURBL
	(piano), HAIM KARLI (guitar),
	OHAM INGER (bass, ALON
	HILLEL (drums)
	Tickets: Cahana, Tel. 68881
	and at the Khan, Tel. 68881

BETT HAMLIN
Me'adon La'oloh
20 Rehov Wetzmann, Tel Aviv,
Tel. 252716, 251126
Don't miss our
Yom Ha'atzmaut Party
Thurs., April 21
9 p.m. Dance and sing-along
11 p.m. Special attraction
Jimmy Loyd
and his Orchestra

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20, 1977

THE JERUSALEM POST — INDEPENDENCE DAY SUPPLEMENT

PAGE NINE

مكذبا من الأصل



HAG SAMEAH—HAPPY ANNIVERSARY

Congratulations to you, the people of Israel, as you stand on the threshold of the 30th year of independence.

Your strength is our strength, your problems are our problems, and your achievements are our pride.

In the new year we trust our commitment and our economic support will be of help in advancing the fulfillment of your hopes for peace and continued progress.

Happy Anniversary.

Hag Sameah.

STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS

215 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003

הגדה של פסח

ISRAEL IN DANGER

The U.S. is flirting with visions of a Middle East settlement and Israel might have to yield to pressures that could be very dangerous to the state's existence. And if Israel were to be destroyed, American Jewry would not be far behind. Commentary Magazine's editor NORMAN PODHORETZ tells poet DAVID AVIDAN of his fears for Israel's survival.

Is Jewish identity vanishing in America?

No, I don't think it is. I think that American Jews, most of them, consider themselves Jews and will continue to consider themselves Jews for the foreseeable future.

Would you say that you are primarily Jewish and secondarily American?

No, I'm primarily Jewish and primarily American. Both. Both in the same place in your hierarchy?

Well, again, I have been fortunate enough not to have to make a choice between the two; in my own soul, I don't have a hierarchy. I feel myself to be fully American and fully Jewish.

Does your Jewish identity have to do with Israel to some extent?

Yes. But it doesn't depend on Israel. I was a Jew before Israel existed and if, God forbid, Israel should ever cease to exist in my lifetime, I would continue to be a Jew — assuming I or any other Jew could survive the destruction of Israel, which is a large and possibly a false assumption. But in any case, my own sense of Jewish identity doesn't depend on Israel.

Unlike a lot of people, I don't consider Jewishness a matter of choice. If you're born a Jew and raised among Jews, in my case among Jews who mainly spoke Yiddish, if you got a Jewish education as I did, studied Jewish history, you don't tend to look upon Jewishness as a voluntary condition. Being Jewish seems to me part of my nature, my existential nature, if you like. So I don't think of it in terms of national, international, religious; it's simply an integral part of me.

When you say it's part of you and not a matter of choice, do you in any way mean to imply something negative, suggesting that Jewish identity may be at least compulsive or compulsory for some Jews?

I believe it is inescapable. If one is born Jewish, one can make a strenuous effort to renounce Jewishness, through radical assimilation or conversion, but such efforts are very costly to the spirit and they are frequently unsuccessful. Anyone who is born a Jew is born into a fate. Now, one can be happy about it, or unhappy about it, or both at various times, but I don't believe it's a matter of choice, any more than I believe that one's sex or one's physical being is a matter of choice.

Of course, these days one can evidently choose one's sex to some outlandish extent, through surgery, but that doesn't really seem to me to be a pertinent possibility where Jewishness is concerned. In a way surgery is one of the ways to introduce most Jewish males into Jewry.

You are absolutely right. And once that surgery is performed I think one ceases to have a choice. Although for women there is no surgery, and I don't think they have a choice either. But let me try to make myself clear. It is possible for a Jew to choose, as I said before, not to be a Jew. Jews can convert to other religions, or they can live their lives in a



Commentary's editor Norman Podhoretz

(David Avidan)

studied indifference to things Jewish or to whatever is Jewish in their own lives or souls.

But this means that Jewishness becomes a kind of negative burden, since people who try to escape from it are still defining themselves in terms of Jewishness — they are trying not to be Jews. And that seems to me a very costly way to live. Many people have obviously chosen to live that way but as I view the possibilities of life for myself or for people like myself, there is no choice. The only choice one has is whether or not to be content with one's Jewish fate.

In more positive terms, is there perhaps any reward for being a Jew? Rather than just a fate? Some people claim that it may be of some advantage.

Yes, there are immense advantages to being a Jew, just as there are immense disadvantages. I don't know how to draw up a balance sheet. This is not a matter for arithmetic. In many ways being Jewish is a great blessing. In other ways it's a burden and a difficulty. For me, depending upon the day of the week or the year, it can be either or both simultaneously.

Can you elaborate a little more on the advantages or disadvantages of being a Jew in your career in

of my children, will encounter rather more resistance and even some discrimination and anti-Semitism as compared with my experience.

But I have also enjoyed spiritual advantages from being Jewish as well as worldly ones. There is, for instance, the doubleness of vision that one inherits in being a member of a nation such as America on the one hand, and part of an ancient people with its own history on the other. One lives more or less comfortably in two worlds at once. This is an advantage. Certainly it's an advantage for an intellectual or a writer. I also feel as a Jew more deeply involved in the stream of history than many non-Jewish Americans do, and this I find exciting. I also find it dangerous and threatening. There is always that anxiety in being Jewish. It is very difficult to overcome.

At the moment I feel great anxiety about the fate of Israel, about the Jews of Israel. Even though one of the prime tenets of the Zionist faith was that the foundation of a Jewish state would solve the problem of Jewish insecurity, would make Jews secure, at least the Jews living in the Jewish state, we now see that the Jews living in the Jewish state are not secure. Their existence is radically threatened, physically threatened. As a Jew I feel implicated in their destiny, in the destiny of Jews and the Jewish state.

More than in the destiny of Jews in other countries?

Well, only more because I happen to pay more attention to Israel — because Israel is more visible, more salient. But not more in principle. You wouldn't attach more importance to the fact that there is a Jewish state per se?

I think it is of immense importance, certainly. It's of overriding importance. I didn't mean to imply that it wasn't.

Would you imagine yourself more of a part of Israel? Could you imagine immigrating to Israel, becoming more of a part of it?

I have never seriously thought of immigrating to Israel. What I have considered, and this is what I mean by the sense of implication in Jewish history, is the possibility that I, like any other Jew, might one day find myself a refugee from anti-Semitism. Some day I might find myself forced, as so many Jews have been throughout history, to leave. Mind you, I feel that this country is my home. I don't expect to be driven out of it. But I think that any Jew who doesn't recognize that possibility in the back of his mind is either foolish or naive. So I can imagine going to Israel not as an act of Zionist affirmation but looking for refuge. But I don't think that will happen.

But in the back of your mind you do suspect that it might happen again?

I don't suspect and I don't expect. I said that a Jew who is neither foolish nor naive must recognize that this is always a possibility. It has always been a possibility. And it's even a possibility for the Jews of Israel.

actually. The Jews of Israel might be driven out, their state might be destroyed.

Do you occasionally think of it in terms of reality, that Israel might cease to exist?

Oh, yes, yes. I think there is a real danger of that.

Which of the two catastrophes seems to you more likely to happen, the destruction of the State of Israel or the destruction of American Jewry? I realize that it's a very Jewish masochistic question.

Of the two gruesome possibilities I think the destruction of Israel is more likely to happen than the destruction of American Jewry.

But I also believe, and I've said so in print, that if Israel were to be destroyed American Jewry would not be far behind. I can't explain how that would happen.

I have an almost mystical belief that if another major Jewish community were destroyed in this century, after European Jewry were permitted to be wiped out, it would prove that there was a will at work to wipe the Jews off the face of the earth entirely, to make the whole world "Judenrein" as the Nazis used to say, and that this will would be powerful enough to work its way in America, with the next major Jewish community; but this is an almost mystical belief.

I hope I don't sound, and I hope we don't sound paranoid while discussing it, but to extend this macabre sequence a little further — do you think that American Jewry has enough power in America to prevent the destruction of the State of Israel?

Well, the American Jewish community doesn't have enough power to do anything by itself, really, to affect the foreign policy of the U.S. It has enough power in conjunction with other forces to influence the course of American policy, and I think that the American Jewish community will use its power to the full to prevent the destruction of the state of Israel.

But I'm not afraid that Israel will be destroyed by error and inadvertence. What I'm afraid of is that the U.S. will force concessions on Israel, not in order to destroy Israel, but in pursuit of a peaceful solution. Israel might have to yield to such pressure, and might then be destroyed before anyone, including the U.S., could do anything about it. Now this is what I fear, a deliberate design. I don't think the U.S. wants Israel to be destroyed at all. On the other hand, I think the U.S. is flirting with visions of a settlement in the Middle East that could be very dangerous to the state's existence. Can international Jewry do anything about it?

I don't think there is an international Jewry. There are many different Jewish communities, in many different places, and they certainly don't work together or see eye to eye on most issues. Even the American Jewish community is not monolithic, never mind the international community; there are vast differences of opinion and great political wars within the possibility for the Jews of Israel.

(Continued on page 11)

THE AMERICAN BANK IN ISRAEL IS THE AMERICAN ISRAEL BANK LTD.

HEAD OFFICE TEL-AVIV
11 Rothschild Blvd.

BRANCHES:

TEL-AVIV

11 Rothschild Blvd.

9 Ahad He'am St.

21 Kikar Me'aryk

30 Ben Yehuda St.

JERUSALEM

14 Hiliel St.

48 Yafa St.

25 Ramen St., Rahavia

39 Hapleza St., Beit Vegan

HAIFA

2 Habankim St.

RAMAT GAN

64 Jabotinsky St.

63 Heyerden St.

3 Blalik St.

BNEI-BRAK

65 Rabbi Akiva St.

HERZLIYA

17 Sokolov St.

RISHON LE-ZION

16 Mohilner St.

NES ZIONA

2 Rothschild St.

BEER-SHEVA

40 Hahistadrut St.

בנק אמריקאי ישראל ב"מ
AMERICAN ISRAEL BANK LTD.



Hagai Lewentzohn Aylon

ISRAEL IN DANGER

(Continued from page 11)

American Jewish community itself. Do you consider yourself part of the Jewish community in America?

Certainly. But I don't think any unified strategy of defense could be worked out by the Jewish community. The Jews don't have that kind of cohesion or coherence, or organizational structure. I do think that conditions for Jews in this country, and for Israel internationally, have deteriorated as compared with 15 years ago. I think that is exactly right. And if you ask me what I think can be done about this, my answer is I'm really not sure. My answer has to be modest and negative.

I think that Jews should at least not cooperate with their enemies in harming them. This sounds like nothing. But in point of fact, Jews in the past have often collaborated with their enemies, not only in harming them, but in destroying them, and even today I know many Jews here and in Israel who are willing to collaborate with people whose aim is to do harm to the Jews.

Such as?

Well, there are Jews and even Jewish organizations in America who support a whole new idea of racial policy involving quotas, even though this policy must inevitably lead to discrimination against Jews, and is in fact already leading to discrimination against Jews.

There are also Jews and Jewish groups who support policies that clearly work against the interests of the state of Israel. So it seems that Jews can't even unite behind a minimal programme of refusing to cooperate with their enemies; they can't even agree as to how to protect themselves from harm.

You do speak in terms of unforgiveness — so why aren't you a great believer in international Jewish organization progress? We might agree to the incorporation of the state of Israel and American Jewry. Together they may appear as a world power, though separately not. Do you buy this concept?

No. I don't think there's enough power. I mean the state of Israel now is almost utterly dependent on the U.S. for its power. The American Jewish community, despite the fact that it's very gifted and prosperous and very intelligent, nevertheless constitutes a tiny minority; we're less than three per cent of the population of this country. We in no sense can transform ourselves into what you call a world power. We can exert a certain influence, yes.

There are things we can do, but I believe that they are relatively modest things. To me it seems bitterly ironic that Jews, after a period of imagining themselves to have become powerful, are now revealed once again as dependent on the toleration and favour of others.

This is the horror of the Yom Kippur War. In the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, the state of Israel, after a brief period of seeming to be an autonomous, sovereign nation, now looks more and more like just another Jewish community, dependent on the good wishes, the good will, and the favour of the powerful host nations.

I'm referring to the fact that the state of Israel couldn't survive without American arms. That's what I'm talking about. In the Yom Kippur War the state, of

Israel needed an actual life-line from the U.S. — of weapons, of course, and even things like blankets apparently. They were utterly dependent on the U.S. even to wage a war.

Yes, but had there not been such a big Jewish community in the State, this lifeline wouldn't exist at all.

That's not true. The U.S. was not helping Israel in the Yom Kippur War because of the American Jewish community. Jewish pressure was one factor. But the U.S. has supported Israel mainly out of a certain conception of the national interest. Now if that conception should change, it would be very dangerous for Israel.

In any case, my point is that the fact that Israel is so utterly dependent on the U.S., and all the more so in being increasingly isolated and unable to get help from anyone else, means that Israel has turned into another Jewish community, rather than being an independent Jewish state. The Zionist dream was that the Jews could have an independent sovereign state of their own; for the moment, at least, that dream seems to have been shattered. Do you feel that the Israelis are over-cooperating with the Arab states?

No, not at the moment. Many people both in Israel and here have been saying that Israeli intransigence and arrogance have been the main obstacle to peace, and that Israel should make very substantial territorial concessions even without strong reciprocal concessions from the Arabs. In other words, Israel is blamed for the fact that no peaceful settlement has been achieved in the Middle East. Now, I think that Jews who spread that idea are collaborating with the enemy. I believe the reason there is no peaceful settlement in the Middle East is that the Arabs don't wish to recognize the existence of the state of Israel and in fact have never wished to make peace with the existence of a Jewish state in that region. This is the major difficulty, not Israeli attitudes.

What would you recommend practically at this stage that Israel's foreign policy should be?

I can't make any practical recommendations. I can only say in general that I think Israel should try as much as possible not to yield to American pressures, to make concessions, unless the Arabs make equivalent concessions in the form of moves toward recognition of the Jewish state.

You are thinking that Israel should gamble more than it does? Or on the contrary, you think Israel already gambles more than it should now?

Well, at this moment I think that Israel is not much of a free agent. But as between those two possibilities you mention, I think Israel should not gamble much, no, not under the present circumstances.

But if we are not as powerful as some of us think, then how could you recommend to us a policy which demands a very powerful backing?

On the contrary, it's only when you are very powerful that you can afford to gamble. I think that Israel could have gambled a lot more between '67 and '73, and more safely than Israel can gamble now precisely because Israel's position is now weaker.

(This is one of a series of interviews on the subject of Jewish identity in America for Avdian's forthcoming book "Jew You Are.")

(Q) copyright by David Avdian — The Thirtieth Century Ltd.)

המרכז להפצת הספר הישראלי בע"מ

Distributors' Center for Israeli Books Ltd.



Join our Thousands of Customers
All Over the World and
Centralize your Purchases of all
Titles by all Israeli Publishers with:
The Distributors' Center
for Israeli Books Ltd.

Our customers include (since 1972) libraries, universities, organizations and individuals all over the world, JOIN THEM and we will provide you with books, periodicals, and other Israeli publications in all languages at the publishers' price.

For our customers' convenience we have prepared THE D.C.I.B. CATALOGUE (in English) of books and periodicals published in Israel, together with summaries — approx. 1,200 titles covering a wide selection of subjects. Prices are included.

Order our D.C.I.B. CATALOGUE, (in English) free of charge.

A HEBREW CATALOGUE IS NOW BEING PREPARED

The D.C.I.B. INFORMATION SERVICE will gladly answer enquiries pertaining to books, periodicals, newspapers and other Israeli publications in all languages.

Distributors' Center for Israeli Books Ltd.

P.O.Box. 2811, 22 Nahmani Street, Tel Aviv, Israel

Cables: Israbooks Tel Aviv* Tel. 298883/6

*Our Branch in New York will open shortly.



I'M NOT SURPRISED THAT BEGED OR EXPORTS SO MUCH!

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO VISIT ONE OF THE SEGED OR BOUTIQUES:

TEL AVIV: KIKAR ATARIM, OPEN 10.00-20.00, FRIDAYS 10.00-13.00, SATURDAYS 20.00-23.00
MAZAL DAVID ST., OLD JAFFA, OPEN 10.00-18.00, 20.00-24.00, FRIDAYS 10.00-13.00, SATURDAYS 20.00-24.00
EST OR, 180 DIZENOFF ST., OPEN 9.00-13.00, 18.00-19.00, FRIDAYS 9.00-13.00
104 BEN YEHUDA ST., OPEN 9.00-13.00, 18.00-19.00, FRIDAYS 9.00-13.00
JERUSALEM: 60, KING GEORGE ST., KINOS' HOTEL, OPEN 9.00-13.00, 18.00-19.00, FRIDAYS 9.00-13.00
MITZPE ABU TOR 5 EIN ROUEL ST., OPEN 9.30-17.30, FRIDAYS 9.30-14.30
HAIFA: 5 NORDAU ST., OPEN 9.00-13.00, 16.00-18.00, FRIDAYS 9.00-15.00
ELAT: NEW TOURIST CENTER, OPEN 10.00-13.00, 17.00-21.00, FRIDAYS 10.00-14.00
MIGDAL HAEMEK: SEGED OR ST., OPEN 9.00-18.00, FRIDAYS 9.00-14.00

AN ISLAND JERUSALEM

The Independence proclamation in Tel Aviv was a far-away event for Jerusalemites, who were completely cut off by Arab forces. Former *Jerusalem Post* editor LEA BEN DOR recalls those days of siege. The photographs, taken in 1947, mainly in the Mea Shearim district of Jerusalem, are by David Rubinger.



SEEN FROM besieged Jerusalem, the proclamation of the State of Israel — Independence — was something that happened only in far-away Tel Aviv, because the roads out of the city were sealed to us. Even the prompt recognition of the new state by U.S. President Truman — an absolutely crucial move as it proved — was only something that happened in the outside world.

We were on an island. Long before there was a formal barbed-wire division, Jerusalem had been steadily closing on itself. In the six months since the UN had voted that there should be partition in Palestine, the city had split and turned in on itself to make two smaller Jerusalems.

An important part of the border was created by the barbed-wire entanglement round the buildings used by the last of the British administration, cutting across Jaffa Road, where a small public garden faces the entrances to the old Barclays Bank building that now houses the Municipality. This invisible barrier across the lower end of what is now Rehov Shalomzion Hamaika was just as effective. Hagana fighters could move up and down inside the houses that flanked the steep street, scrambling through holes in the adjoining walls, but the steep slope of the street itself held it up to the snipers like a map on a wall.

The university on Mount Scopus was cut off, so was the Hadassah Hospital next to it, and even the cemetery itself.

Four months earlier, a convoy carrying doctors, nurses and other workers to the hospital had been ambushed on the way through the Noshashibi Quarter, just below the present Scopus Hotel, and 57 persons slaughtered in the course of a long, terrible day.

British rule still prevented the open arrival of Hagana reinforcements, and British forces intervened to stop the shooting only after dark: the Area Commander had been out of town.

There were a good many people at the time who had not believed that the British, after years of struggle, would really slip all the ropes and disappear over the horizon on the day set, May 15. Others, including British personnel, thought the departure would be a feat. The troops would wait out of sight of Haifa port, waiting to be called by a desperate yishuv, and agree to return, on their own terms and those of the Arabs — that is, no immigration, no land purchase, minority status in an Arab state.

THE SLOW MASSACRE of 57 Hadassah workers, including the head of the hospital, Dr. Yaasky, that day, with ample British forces in barracks only minutes away, revealed with shattering clarity what the quality of life would be in an Arab state, even with a token British presence.

Independence — a state — was no longer a Zionist hope to be postponed if too costly to achieve, but a necessary condition if we were to live at all.

HADASSAH was on the road north, to Ramallah and Nablus, not often used by Jews once the coastal road to Haifa had been built. The road east, to the Dead Sea, and what was then called "Transjordan" had been closed to us for some time. South, to Bethlehem and Kfar Etzion, which was destroyed, was not worth trying. East, to the coast, the narrow road out through hills was strewn with wrecked vehicles that had been amateurs' ar-

moured with iron plates.

The wrecks are still there, painted over to prevent them rusting away, and decorated with wreaths at this time of year to honour the memory of the men who tried to crash through stone barriers and get supplies to Jerusalem.

There was no way out of the city. With the benefit of hindsight, one might say that the Arab commanders would have been shrewder to leave one road at least partially open as an escape route from the beleaguered city. As it was, they left the population no choice but to stay put despite danger and acute shortage — even the ultra-orthodox who did not accept a man-made Israel. They continued the wait for the Messiah, and meanwhile offered prayers for the well-being of King Abdullah of Transjordan, as the legitimate successor to the British administration.

I went to synagogue to hear this once, as a matter of curiosity, but the blessing was so mumbled that I cannot say I actually heard the King's name spoken.

YOU COULD not get out, you could not get in, and unless you had most pressing business you stayed home, off the dangerous streets and avoided the shops. In the days of 25-pounder shells the stone houses of Jerusalem gave protection. The walls shuddered, glass jarred and tinkled — though you had long ago taken out anything that could be moved — but unless a shell fragment came in through a window or a tiled roof you were safe enough indoors.

Move the beds under the windows, so missiles would skip over you and drop harmlessly. Outside, keep close to the wall of a house for protection. Count the shells that drop.

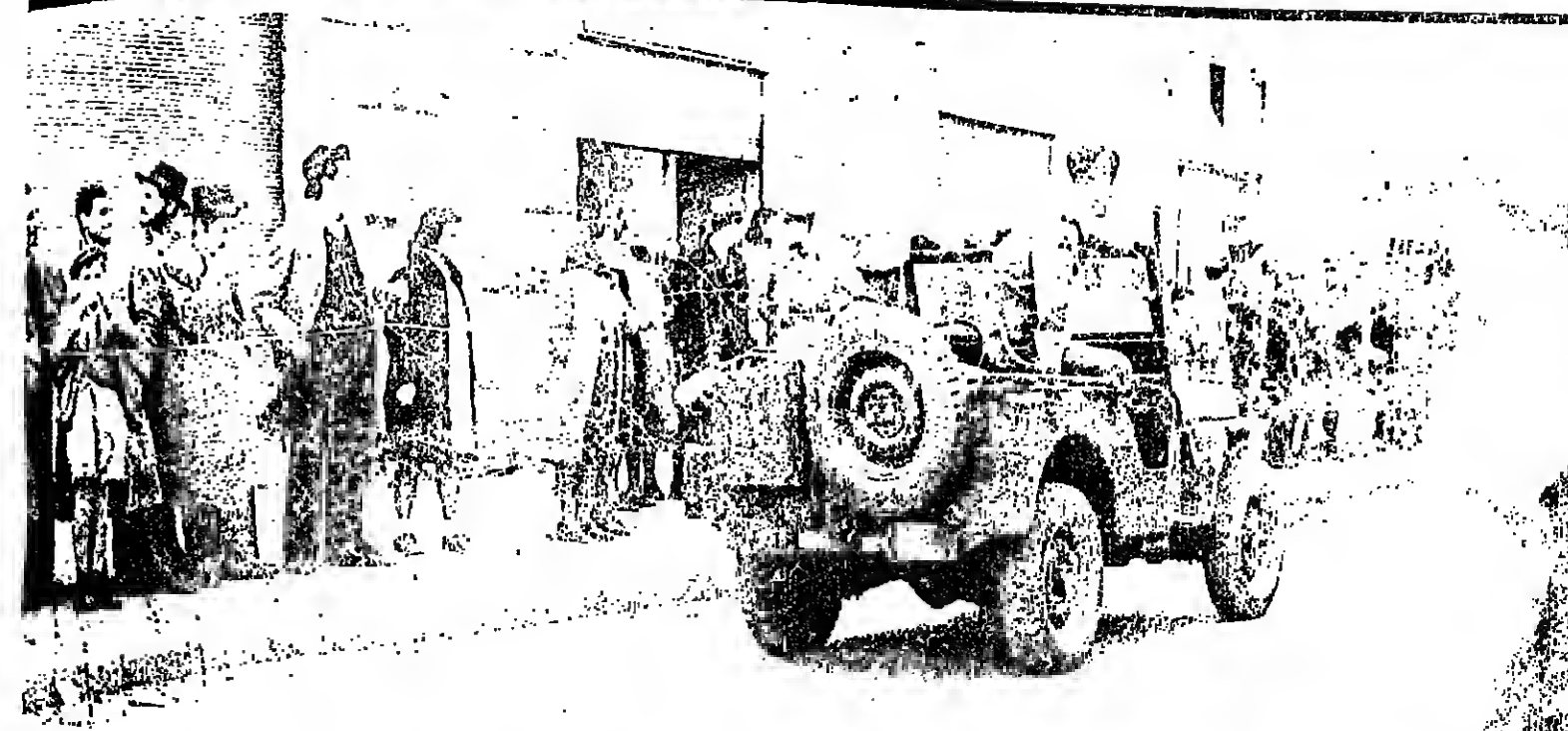
The Arab Legion, directed by the British commander, Glubb Pasha, was reputed to have 15 guns. These were roughly aimed at one area, a dozen shells crumpled down, and then the whole battery was shifted around a little. Everyone was well instructed. A little old lady sheltering in a doorway called out as I passed, "Have all 12 fallen? My hearing is so poor."

FOOD WAS very short: 150 grams of bread, 100 grams of rice or lentils and maybe some oddments: a little piece of margarine once in a while, and a little sugar. A bit of cheese made the day. Dried milk for children and invalids. Nothing fresh, no meat, no eggs, only a few oranges that arrived while the train was still running. All these at controlled prices, with the aid of ration books, under the meticulous administration of Dr. Dov Yosef, Governor of Jerusalem, whose skimpy ideas of rations in the years that followed became the target of so many jokes.

It was a thin time for people who had not stocked up a bag of sugar and barley, a few tins of meat and fish. The poorest section of the population fortunately tended to buy rice, beans and olives in bulk in those days and most had some reserves.

Food was the constant subject of thought and conversation. How to use the corner of the sofa as a hay box; how to use a petrol tin as a stove, and fire it with pine cones.

At the offices it never stopped. Everybody swore not to talk about food for an hour, and 10 minutes later we were planning what we would eat when it was over. What it was over. I cannot recall anyone ever speculating what would



happen if the city were to fall. There was a "single-shot Charlie" — This was a mythical — I think — person said to be giving information to the other side by means of single rifle shots; when a head van left the Bernau bakery nearby, for instance, or when a patrol was due to pass an open point.

THERE WERE certainly single shots, and these were often followed by the heavy clump of shells falling, but Charlie was never found. Some people saw spies all over, after the puzzling, shocking story of Tuhiansky, the Hagana officer who had been found allegedly passing messages to the Legion, and shot after a summary court martial. (After the war his name was formally cleared by Ben-Gurion. At the very least, his trial had not been properly conducted.)

The worst moment in the day was the wait in the winter queue. Water had been carefully stored in the private cisterns under the older houses and then sealed up. The owners could not touch them. The cisterns were emptied in turn into something like milk vats and the water trickled round the streets by elderly, intrepid drivers.

Queues lined up at distribution points, and there was a pall a day per person in the family, tipped into a washbasin. It often took a long time, and the queues claimed many victims. I have not forgotten the man in our queue, a banker, who had a new rumour every day. Maggots had got into the last of the flour, the fuel oil (for the electric power) had leaked from the tanks, the water was finished. He loved bad news.

THE STREETS were empty, desolate, with bits of paper whirled up by the wind. You walked fast and dodged into a house if stuff seemed to be falling nearby.

The fall of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City had been tragic. So many dead before the ammunition finally ran out and the survivors surrendered. The men taken prisoner to Jordan, and the women brought out by the Red Cross, hollow-eyed, covered with dirt and speechless. The news from the rest of the country seemed uncertain.

The formal request for recognition by Britain received no reply because it was feared that even a negative reply would be a kind of recognition. Britain was our bridge to the world at that time.

If one looks back now, one must admit that they had all written us off and were impatiently waiting for us to lie down and die and get it over with. But the whole yishuv was too busy fighting to stay alive to understand this, fighting actively in some parts and passively in others, as in Jerusalem. Our people in New York were much more pessimistic. Then the Arab invasion from all sides was slowly halted and the UN, wary of too much success, finally called a cease-fire.

The *Jerusalem Post* — The *Palestine Post*, that is — kept appearing, though a good many issues had to be stencilled when the electricity lines could not be repaired. One got quite quick at lighting a pine-cone fire with a magnifying glass to make soup out of a handful of barley and mallow leaves from the garden. If we could live through our day, why should the state not survive? Happily, even the man in the queue could not dream up the kind of problem that plagues us today. □

Independence Day

THE CONFIDENCE AND THE HOPE OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL



VOTE

THE LIKUD

tnu-of

What is Jewish cuisine without chicken? To achieve an unmistakable Israeli flavour is not difficult. Simply add Israeli spices and ingredients, e.g. oranges, raisins, white wine and cumin (the spice used in felafel). These additions not only make chicken an Israeli dish but the best choice for any gourmand's table.

tnu-of — whole or divided into portions. A glass of orange juice, a glass of white wine, 1 sliced onion; 1 sliced carrot; 1 stalk of celery; 1½ tsp. salt; pinch of black pepper; 1 tsp. paprika; 3 Tbsp oil; ½ cup raisins; 1 tsp. cumin (paprika seasoning); 1 orange.

Place the vegetables in a bowl. Pour over the juice and the wine. Add the spices. Leave the chicken in the marinade for one hour, so that it will absorb the flavour. Turn from time to time. Heat the oil in a frying pan. Remove the chicken from the marinade. Dry very lightly with a paper towel (so that it remains moist) and sauté in oil till golden brown all over.

Place the chicken in a baking or a pyrex dish. Pour over all the marinade in which it was soaking and arrange the vegetables on top. Cover the dish with a lid or with aluminium paper and bake in the oven at

medium heat for 45 minutes. Remove the cover from the baking dish and bake another 30 minutes. Turn from time to time so that the chicken will brown evenly. Remove the chicken and arrange on attractive, heated serving plates. Strain the accumulated juices in the pan through a fine strainer. Boil until the amount of liquids is reduced by half and become a thick substantial sauce with a rich, brown colour and a marvelous taste. Peel the orange and divide into nice, clean segments, wash the raisins and add to the sauce to slightly heat them. Arrange the orange

segments around the chicken. Pour over the sauce with the raisins. If you wish, you may sprinkle a few cumin seeds. You could also decorate with very thin strips of orange peel (soaked in hot water to remove the bitter taste). Serve with pride to guests and to family on Yom Ha'atzmaut Independence day and on other festive occasions.

tnu-of — always fresh. Its freshness is frozen in and kept in the best and most natural way — from the moment it is packaged in the factory, until it's ready in your kitchen.



Spring chicken in the orange bag

DAHAF

UNSCOP Memories

Thirty years ago, on April 18th, 1947, the U.N. opened the session at which it assumed responsibility for the settlement of the Palestine problem. I.L. KENEN, who served as the Jewish Agency's press spokesman during this fateful prelude to the establishment of the State, recalls his experiences with the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

ON OCTOBER 4, 1946, President Truman marked Yom Kippur with a renewed demand for the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine and with an endorsement of partition. Ernest Bevin sneered that Truman was motivated by domestic politics. An angry Truman retired in silence to the sidelines.

Five months later, the British proposed to administer Palestine as a United Nations trustee, pending complete independence within five years. American Zionists called on Truman to intervene.

Louis Lipsky, veteran chairman of the American Jewish Conference, protested that "Britain's real purpose was to secure legal sanction of its illegal position in Palestine." He stressed our major worry: "The Jewish people is the one party that has no status in the parliament of nations. Britain and the five Arab states...are in a position to act both as advocates...and as judges."

We were voiceless and voiceless. Lipsky called on the United States to be our voice.

Taunted by the British, tormented by Zionist pressures, haunted by the terrible plight of the Jewish survivors of the concentration camps, undermined by the Anglo-American diplomatic cabal, Truman remained silent.

I was then secretary of the American Jewish Conference and Mohe Shorett invited me to be the Agency's press spokesman. My first statement emphasized that the Agency had the right to be heard because it had legal status under the Mandate. We opposed British participation in the inquiry committee on Palestine that was to be set up at a special session of the U.N. Assembly due to open on April 28, 1947. And we urged that all the parties be included — or excluded.

But there was no assurance that we would have any status at all. Indeed, there was some doubt that we would even have tickets. On the eve of the session, we were given reserved tickets in the public section. I suggested to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, the head of the Agency's American section, that we could underline the iniquity of our position if we failed to appear when the session opened. Sure enough, the afternoon newspapers bannered this defiant gesture.

Opponents argued that our appearance was unnecessary. The question was one of procedure — the selection and dispatch of an investigation committee. But within hours, the Arabs demanded that a question of substance be placed on the agenda: termination of the Mandate and establishment of an independent Palestine.



Chaim Weizmann, flanked by Abba Hban, giving evidence to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

A sympathetic Assembly voted, by a large majority, to invite the Agency to address the political committee, despite the reservations of the U.S., which was then trying to curry Arab favour.

The Arabs hurt their cause by overstatement and extremism. They threatened boycott and war unless the Assembly elevated the Arab Higher Committee to the same status as the Agency. The Assembly yielded.

Throughout that first session, the U.S. delegation refused to commit itself. But early in May, the Soviet delegation asked us for information about the Holocaust and we sent over "Nazi Germany's War Against the Jews," a collection of the Nuremberg documents which the American Jewish Conference had compiled for submission to Washington embassies.

On May 14, Andrei Gromyko

The ultimatum worked. For the first time, according to my recollection, the Agency agreed to an advance release.

UNSCOP travelled some 8,500 km. in 15 days. To make their trip more interesting, Regina Modzhi, Shorett's personal secretary, and I prepared a detailed plan for them. But we were dismayed when the cars drove off counter-clockwise, because the British preferred to show Arab sections by day and the Jewish sections on the coastal plain at night. Our handiwork now fluttered out of the cars.

The Jews had a lot to show and they did it with zeal and enthusiasm, even as the Arabs boycotted. The Arabs threw us out of the Golden Spindle in Ramat Hashikma when I called Ralph Bunche's attention to children working the looms. And Jews were barred from an Arab cigarette factory in Haifa, while Arab councilmen absented themselves when UNSCOP visited the city hall.

I was part of a small advance party that went ahead to warn the kibbutzim to throw away their prepared speeches...At Beit Arava, the kibbutz seated the diplomats beside members who spoke their language... At Beersheva, Arab students looked the other way and Fabregat of Uruguay and Granados of Guatemala and I were reduced to playing tic-tac-toe with chalk on the blackboard...There was a moonlight ride to Eilat for a plantation party and Bunche and UNSCOP aides danced the hora to an accordion from Afikim.

In Jerusalem, dovish-looking professors were rudely searched by British soldiers as they descended from a Hebrew University convocation. A symphony concert at the Edison Cinema and Oriental dance at sunset in the Soopna amphitheatre...A daytime curfew at Netanya and the screening of 12,000 people as the British searched for two kidnapped and murdered sergeants.

The testimony of Dr. Judah Magnes proved counterproductive: "I love every knob of this country. I do not want it divided. I want to share it with my Arab friends," he told UNSCOP. But he could not produce any Arabs to agree with him. And that night I cabled to New York: "Partition is assured because of the negative testimony of its opponents."

The most eloquent witness was a ship, the Amarioun-named Exodus, which the British rammed as it approached Haifa harbour. We cancelled a luncheon which Mrs. Sharatt had arranged for the press and we drove to Haifa, where U.N. delegates and press watched as the British lined up the 4,500 refugees, searched them for

weapons, and transferred them to three British ferries, which shipped them — not to Cyprus as was the custom, but all the way back to Hamburg, after 80 days in a scorching Mediterranean sun. I counted 37 stretchers. Ruth Gruber of Time magazine and I interviewed a British lance corporal, who explained it all: "The Jews control the Commons in London and the Congress in Washington," he said.

Meanwhile, the British kept telling UNSCOP that the Jews in the displaced persons' camps would willingly accept repatriation but for Zionist propaganda. For a week the diplomats travelled nearly 5,000 km from camp to camp, interviewing refugees picked at random. I was the only Agency official permitted to accompany the subcommittee because I was a journalist reporting for the Conference Record, my organization's publication.

"If you ask them, they will tell you that they want to go to Israel," Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, the Jewish adviser to the commanding general, had testified in Munich. "But in fact, about 75 per cent of them do and the remainder would like to join their relatives in the West."

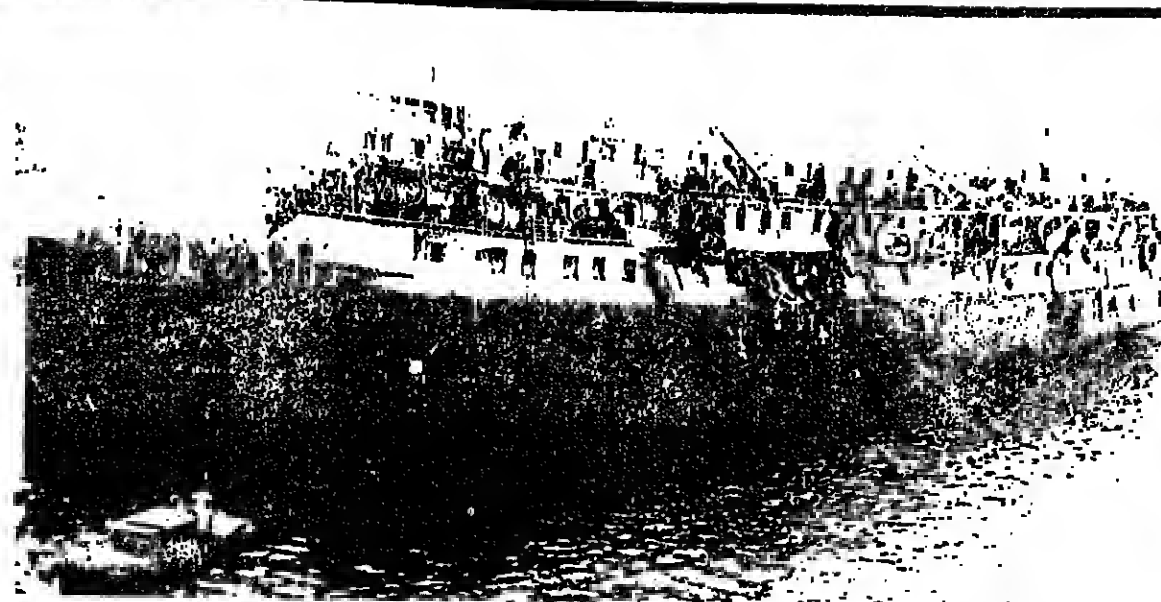
The dialogue in the camps went like this:

"Where are you going?"
"I'm going to Palestine."
"Where are you from?"
"I'm from Poland."

"Why don't you go back to Poland?"

"I can't go back to Poland because of anti-Semitism."
"But there is anti-Semitism in Palestine."

"What do you mean?"
"The Arabs."



The refugee-packed "Exodus," whose passengers were dumped in Hamburg, was the "most eloquent witness."

"Well, that anti-Semitism doesn't worry me."

Some 100 per cent gave the same answer. Except one. That dialogue went like this:

"Where are you from?"
"I'm from Palestine."
"Where are you going?"
"I'm going to Czechoslovakia."

"Why do you want to go back to Czechoslovakia?"
"Because my business is there."

"What is your business?"
"I'm an emissary for the Jewish Agency, and I'm looking for refugees."

UNSCOP visited a monastery near Dachau, where we saw a picture of Hirsch Yacubowitz framed in black. He was one of the victims of British gunfire on the Exodus. He and his comrades had left the monastery to go on a picnic and

had never returned.

The Indian and Yugoslav diplomats searched for signs of Zionist propaganda. Soon they found a map of Palestine on the wall. Here was convincing evidence, I bitterly pointed out to them that no one had come to hang maps of India or Yugoslavia.

The decisive exhibit was the Rothschild Hospital in Vienna. Here 5,000 desperate Rumanian Jews in flight from anti-Semitism had taken shelter in an institution which could hold 1,000. They were bound for the D.P. camps in the American zone, which had kept the frontiers open.

"I shall never forget the misery of this day," said a sensitive Iranian delegate.

And that night, John Hood of Australia, chairman of the subcommittee, told me there was no

longer any question. The Jews in the camps must be allowed to enter Palestine.

On our final day, we saw the flat mass-burial mounds at Bergen Belsen and, by coincidence, two trains ready to transport 380 Jews who had won certificates to go to Palestine. For the first time, UNSCOP had met happy Jews.

WHEN THE ASSEMBLY reconvened in September, the U.S. delegation finally endorsed the partition plan as it announced that it would vote for UNSCOP's majority report. And for the next few weeks a sub-committee studied the map and altered it, in consultation with Sharrett and other members of the Agency delegation.

Once again the Arabs boycotted. It was an academic ex-

ercise, because down in Washington, Loy Henderson and his State Department colleagues had already drafted the alternative trusteeship proposal, which they were to unveil in March, 1948.

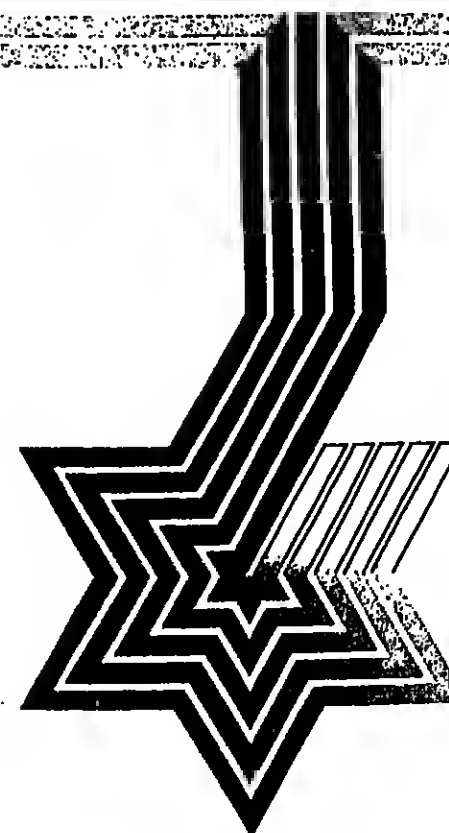
In the meantime, however, the U.S. delegation was determined to appease the Arabs, and it moved to transfer the Negev to the proposed Arab State. Thanks to the intervention of Eddie Jacobson, his Kansas City haberdashery partner, Truman agreed to see Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who persuaded him that the West might some day need the Negev if the Suez canal were rendered unavailable. Truman called Ambassador Herschel Johnson to the telephone in the U.N. delegates' lounge just in time to save the Negev for Israel.

And Truman rolled the U.S. delegation on the eve of the U.N. vote to save the partition resolution, after Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt had complained of the delegation's apathy, which bordered on indifference, if not unconcerned hostility.

But Israel's hold on the Negev was challenged again by the Bernadotte Plan and the threat of sanctions in the 1948 session in Paris, and again in 1949. And in 1957, there was another cloister over territory with the U.S., and again the threat of sanctions.

In retrospect, going back these 30 years, it appears that Israel has always been under pressure to give up territory in the never-ending struggle for space and security — and peace. □

(Mr. Kenen is the former chairman of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee).



ONE
PEOPLE
A COMMON
DESTINY

קרן חיסוד - המבית המיוחדת לישראל
KEREN HAYESOD - UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL

THE WORLD - WIDE FAMILY OF THE
KEREN HAYESOD - UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL
IN MORE THAN 60 COUNTRIES
EXTENDS GREETINGS TO
THE STATE OF ISRAEL
AND ITS PEOPLE
AND PLEDGES TOTAL COMMITMENT
TO THEIR ASPIRATIONS
FOR DEVELOPMENT,
PROSPERITY AND PEACE.

EZRA Z. SHAPIRO
WORLD CHAIRMAN

S.J. KREUTNER
DIRECTOR-GENERAL



UNSCOP Memories

Thirty years ago, on April 18th, 1947, the U.N. opened the session at which it assumed responsibility for the settlement of the Palestine problem. I.L. KENEN, who served as the Jewish Agency's press spokesman during this fateful prelude to the establishment of the State, recalls his experiences with the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

ON OCTOBER 4, 1946, President Truman marked Yom Kippur with a renewed demand for the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine and with an endorsement of partition. Ernest Bevin sneered that "Truman was motivated by domestic politics. An angry Truman retired in silence to the sidelines."

Five months later, the British proposed to administer Palestine as a United Nations trustee, pending complete independence within five years. American Zionists called on Truman to intervene.

Louis Lipsky, veteran chairman of the American Jewish Conference, protested that "Britain's real purpose was to secure legitimation of its illegal position in Palestine." He stressed our major worry: "The Jewish people is the one party that has no status in the parliament of nations. Britain and the five Arab states...are in a position to act both as advocates...and as judges."

We were voiceless and voiceless. Lipsky called on the United States to be our voice.

Taunted by the British, tormented by Zionist pressure, haunted by the terrible plight of the Jewish survivors of the concentration camps, undermined by the Anglo-American diplomatic cabal, Truman remained silent.

I was then secretary of the American Jewish Conference and Moshe Sharett invited me to be the Agency's press spokesman. My first statement emphasized that the Agency had the right to be heard because it had legal status under the Mandate. We opposed British participation in the inquiry committee on Palestine that was to be set up at a special session of the U.N. Assembly due to open on April 28, 1947. And we urged that all the parties be included — or excluded.

But there was no assurance that we would have any status at all. Indeed, there was some doubt that we would even have tickets. On the eve of the session, we were given reserved tickets in the public section. I suggested to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, the head of the Agency's American section, that we could underline the inequity of our position if we failed to appear when the session opened. Sure enough, the afternoon newspapers bannored this defiant gesture.

Opponents argued that our appearance was unnecessary. The question was one of procedure — the selection and dispatch of an investigation committee. But within hours, the Arabs demanded that a question of substance be placed on the agenda: termination of the Mandate and establishment of an independent Palestine.



Chaim Weizmann, flanked by Abba Eban, giving evidence to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

A sympathetic Assembly voted, by a large majority, to invite the Agency to address the political committee, despite the reservations of the U.S., which was then trying to curry Arab favour.

The Arabs hurt their cause by overstatement and extremism. They threatened boycott and war unless the Assembly elevated the Arab Higher Committee to the same status as the Agency. The Assembly yielded.

Throughout that first session, the U.S. delegation refused to commit itself. But early in May, the Soviet delegation asked us for information about the Holocaust and we sent over "Nazi Germany's War Against the Jews," a collection of the Nuremberg documents which the American Jewish Conference had compiled for submission to Washington embassies.

On May 14, Andrei Gromyko

made his startling speech in which he called for Arab-Jewish agreement and, alternatively, partition. If the Soviets could risk offending the Arabs, why should the U.S. be so reticent. I put that rhetorical question to every correspondent I could find. Next morning *The Herald Tribune*, our good friend, featured it on page one.

UNSCOP, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, was warmly greeted by the Jews, boycotted by the Arabs. The Jews had often been investigated by British commissions, but this was different. It was international and was represented. The British had been reduced in status to the same level as the Yishuv's liaison officer, Abba Eban.

Most of the people I met were pessimistic about the outcome. But it was clear to UNSCOP that the Jewish State already existed *de facto*, built after 70 years of reclamation and reconstruction. It was merely waiting for international perception and recognition.

On the day UNSCOP arrived in Palestine, June 18, three Jews were sentenced to be hanged and UNSCOP appealed to the Mandatory regime to reconsider. Later the young men were hanged as the British ignored Golda Meir's final appeal for mercy. I sat with her and Yitzhak Ben-Zvi that night and then walked through the dark, outworn streets of Jerusalem to the Public Information Office in the David Building to transmit our appeal to the world. But nobody seemed to listen.

The night before Ben-Gurion testified, I asked for an advance copy of his evidence for the press. And when I was rebuffed, I told Reuven Shiloah (then Zaslani) that I was returning to the U.S.

The ultimatum worked. For the first time, according to my recollection, the Agency agreed to an advance release.

UNSCOP travelled some 3,500 km. in 16 days. To make their trip more interesting, Regina Medsini, Sharett's personal secretary, and I prepared a detailed plan for them. But we were dismayed when the cars drove off counter-clockwise, because the British preferred to show Arab sections by day and the Jewish sections on the coastal plain at night. Our handiwork now fluttered out of the cars.

The Jews had a lot to show and they did it with zest and enthusiasm, even as the Arabs boycotted. The Arabs threw us out of the Golden Spindle in Ramla when I called Ralph Bunche's attention to children working the looms. And Jews were barred from an Arab cigarette factory in Haifa, while Arab councilmen absented themselves when UNSCOP visited the city hall.

I was part of a small advance party that went ahead to warn the kibbutzim to throw away their prepared speeches...At Beit Arava, the kibbutz seated the diplomats beside members who spoke their language...At Beersheva, Arab students looked the other way and Fabregat of Uruguay and Grannados of Guatemala and I were reduced to playing tic-tac-toe with chalk on the blackboard...There was a moonlight ride to Ein-Gev for a plantation party and Bunche and UNSCOP aldee danced the hora to an accordion from Afikim.

In Jerusalem, dovish-looking professors were rudely searched by British soldiers as they descended from a Hebrew University convocation. A symphony concert at the Edison Cinema and Oriental dance at sunset in the Scopas amphitheatre...A daytime curfew at Netanya and the screening of 12,000 people as the British searched for two kidnapped and murdered aergants.

The testimony of Dr. Judah Magnes proved counterproductive: "I love every inch of this country. I do not want it divided. I want to share it with my Arab friends," he told UNSCOP. But he could not produce any Arabs to agree with him. And that night I cabled to New York: "Partition is assured because of the negative testimony of its opponents."

The most eloquent witness was a ship, the American-manned *Exodus*, which the British rammed as it approached Haifa harbour.

We cancelled a luncheon which Mrs. Sharett had arranged for the press and we drove to Haifa, where U.N. delegates and press watched as the British lined up the 4,500 refugees, searched them for

weapons, and transferred them to three British ferries, which shipped them — not to Cyprus as was the custom, but all the way back to Hamburg, after 50 days in a scorching Mediterranean sun. I counted 37 stretchers. Ruth Gruber of *Time* magazine and I interviewed a British lance-corporal, who explained it all: "The Jews control the Commons in London and the Congress in Washington," he said.

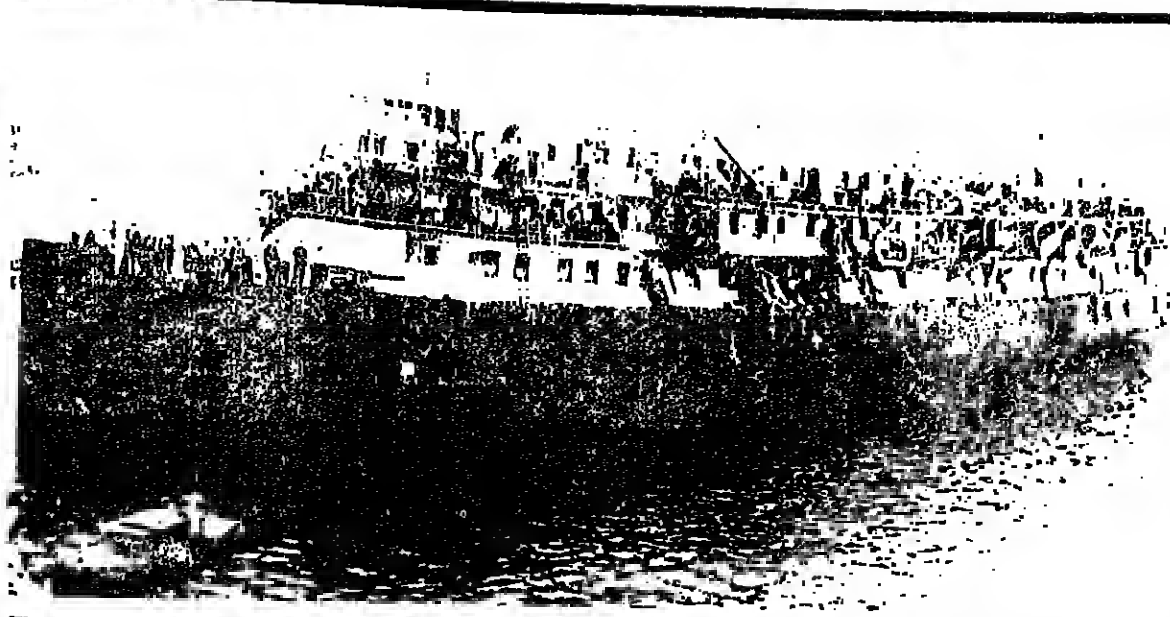
Meanwhile, the British kept telling UNSCOP that the Jews in the displaced persons' camps would willingly accept repatriation but for Zionist propaganda. For a week the diplomats travelled nearly 5,000 km from camp to camp, interviewing refugees plucked at random. I was the only Agency official permitted to accompany the subcommittee because I was a journalist reporting for the *Conference Record*, my organization's publication.

"If you ask them, they will all tell you that they want to go to Israel," Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, the Jewish adviser to the commanding general, had testified in Munich. "But in fact, about 75 per cent of them do and the remainder would like to join their relatives in the West."

The dialogue in the camps went like this:

"Where are you going?"
"I'm going to Palestine."
"Where are you from?"
"I'm from Poland."

"Why don't you go back to Poland?"
"I can't go back to Poland because of anti-Semitism."
"But there is anti-Semitism in Palestine."
"What do you mean?"
"The Arabs."



The refugee-packed "Exodus," whose passengers were dumped in Hamburg, was the "most eloquent witness."

"Well, that anti-Semitism doesn't worry me."

Some 100 per cent gave the same answer. Except one. That dialogue went like this:

"Where are you from?"
"I'm from Palestine."
"Where are you going?"
"I'm going to Czechoslovakia."
"Why do you want to go back to Czechoslovakia?"

"Because my business is there."

"What is your business?"
"I'm an emissary for the Jewish Agency, and I'm looking for refugees."

UNSCOP visited a monastery near Dnechau, where we saw a picture of Hirsch Yacubowitz framed in black. He was one of the victims of British gunfire on the *Exodus*. He and his comrades had left the monastery to go on a picnic and

had never returned.

The Indian and Yugoslav diplomats searched for signs of Zionist propaganda. Soon they found a map of Palestine on the wall. Here was convincing evidence, I bitterly pointed out to them that no one had come to hang maps of India or Yugoslavia.

The decisive exhibit was the Rothschild Hospital in Vienna. Here 5,000 desperate Rumanian Jews in flight from anti-Semitism had taken shelter in an institution which could hold 1,000. They were bound for the D.P. camps in the American zone, which had kept the frontiers open.

"I shall never forget the misery of this day," said a sensitive Iranian delegate.

And that night, John Hood of Australia, chairman of the subcommittee, told me there was no

longer any question. The Jews in the camps must be allowed to enter Palestine.

On our final day, we saw the flat mass-burial mounds at Bergen Belsen and, by coincidence, two trains ready to transport 390 Jews who had won certificates to go to Palestine. For the first time, UNSCOP had met happy Jews.

WHEN THE ASSEMBLY reconvened in September, the U.S. delegation finally endorsed the partition plan as it announced that it would vote for UNSCOP's majority report. And for the next few weeks a subcommittee studied the map and altered it, in consultation with Sharett and other members of the Agency delegation.

Once again the Arabs boycotted. It was an academic ex-

ercise, because down in Washington, Loy Henderson and his State Department colleagues had already drafted the alternative trusteeship proposal, which they were to unveil in March, 1948.

In the meantime, however, the U.S. delegation was determined to appease the Arabs, and it moved to transfer the Negev to the proposed Arab State. Thanks to the intervention of Eddie Jacobson, his Kansas City hotel-dashery partner, Truman agreed to see Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who persuaded him that the West might someday need the Negev if the Suez canal were rendered unavailable. Truman called Ambassador Herschel Johnson to the telephone in the U.N. delegates' lounge just in time to save the Negev for Israel.

And Truman rallied the U.S. delegation on the eve of the U.N. vote to save the partition resolution, after Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt had complained of the delegation's apathy, which bordered on indifference, if not unconcerned hostility.

But Israel's hold on the Negev was challenged again by the Bernadotte Plan and the threat of sanctions in the 1948 session in Paris, and again in 1949. And in 1957, there was another clash over territory with the U.S., and again the threat of sanctions.

In retrospect, going back these 30 years, it appears that Israel has always been under pressure to give up territory in the never-ending struggle for space and security — and peace. □

(Mr. Kenen is the former chairman of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee).

קרן חיסוד · חמובית המחדרת לישראל
KEREN HAYESOD · UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL

THE WORLD - WIDE FAMILY OF THE
KEREN HAYESOD - UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL

IN MORE THAN 60 COUNTRIES

EXTENDS GREETINGS TO

THE STATE OF ISRAEL

AND ITS PEOPLE

AND PLEDGES TOTAL COMMITMENT

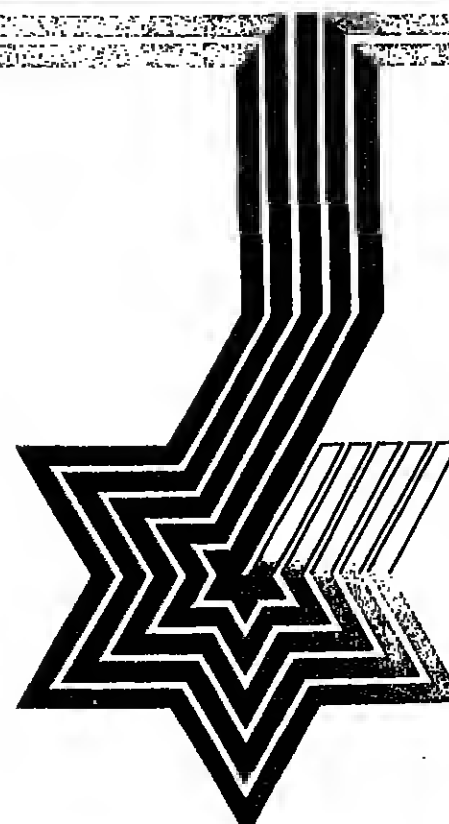
TO THEIR ASPIRATIONS

FOR DEVELOPMENT,

PROSPERITY AND PEACE.

EZRA Z. SHAPIRO
WORLD CHAIRMAN

S.J. KREUTNER
DIRECTOR-GENERAL



ONE
PEOPLE
A COMMON
DESTINY



We'll make YOU an offer YOU can't refuse

By just completing the subscription form below, you can join the 130,000 world-wide subscribers deriving pleasure and knowledge from collecting Israel Government Coins and Medals. With no obligation whatsoever on your part you:

- receive preference in ordering at official issue price;
- have every item sent directly to your home, by registered mail;
- get an illustrated brochure with every issue, telling the "story behind the coin" in your language;
- receive annually a free gift of numismatic value.

Each member of your family can enrol individually — and don't forget your godson!

Write for an illustrated brochure.

ISRAEL GOVERNMENT COINS AND MEDALS CORPORATION AHAD HA'AM 5, JERUSALEM

Please enrol me as a subscriber for Israel Commemorative Coins, Coin Sets, and State Medals according to the Corporation's specified conditions.

SIGNATURE _____

Please print in capital letters:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

ZIP CODE _____

DATE _____

STATE _____

COUNTRY _____

هكذا من الأصل



TEEN AND NOW: Kibbutz Givat Haim at its founding in the early '30s; a Givat Haim family watch television in their home in the '70s.

(Givat Haim archives and Rubinger)

KIBBUTZ JUBILEE

The kibbutz is one of Israel's most dazzling social inventions, an experiment which has succeeded brilliantly. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the kibbutz federations, Post reporter YOSEF GOELL assesses this success.

JUBILEES are often spurious affairs, since truly historic events are usually more a matter of process than of specific dates. This is true of the recently proclaimed and celebrated "Fiftieth Jubilee" of the establishment of the kibbutz federations. Haver Hakvutzot, Hakibbutz Hameuhad and Hakibbutz Ha'artzi were founded at various dates between 1925 and 1929, and the first kibbutz, Degania, is close to 70 years old.

Spurious or not, surreptitiously connected with the present election campaign or not, "non-events" such as these none the less provide convenient stages for a periodic assessment of the kibbutz, one of Israel's most dazzling social inventions.

The kibbutz has often been spoken of in terms of a social experiment. It is questionable whether any social phenomenon which is well into its fourth generation may legitimately continue to be referred to as an experiment. This kibbutz is a dynamic and — considering that there are 254 kibbutzim with 110,000 inhabitants — a widely variegated society. There can be no doubt about the success of the "experiment"; the interesting question concerns the meaning of this success in the light of initial goals and possible future developments.

Most of Israel's kibbutzim were established by two generations of romantic and radical Jewish youths from Central and Eastern Europe, who sought to realize their revolutionary and Zionist dreams in the social vacuum that was Turkish, and later British, Palestine. They were the small group of "black sheep," the brothers and sisters of the greater number of Jews who opted to immigrate to other parts of the world or to remain in the age-old centres of Jewish settlement in Europe, where they became the victims of Nazi barbarism.

The remainder of the kibbutzim, mainly the ones established after the creation of the State of Israel, were started by graduates of kibbutz-inspired youth movements in Israel and in the affluent diasporas of the West.

PERHAPS THE MAJOR point which accounted for the early success of this experiment in communal living, which differentiated the kibbutzim from other more transitory communal experiments this century, was its intermeshing with the goals of Zionism.

Given the objective conditions which prevailed in this country during most of the Turkish and British pre-State period, the growth of the Jewish yishuv and its spread beyond the narrow coastal belt is unimaginable without the kibbutz. The basing of Zionist settlement activities on the kibbutz led to the creation of a partnership between the non-socialist "bourgeois" mainstream of the Zionist movement and the kibbutz "hippies" of an earlier day. Without this political and financial support it is doubtful whether the kibbutzim could have overcome the initial obstacles which faced such a radical social experiment.

The kibbutzim have long since repaid this debt by their signal contributions to the very establishment of the State and of its armed forces, the development of Israeli agriculture, the spreading of the Jewish presence throughout the land, the early absorption of immigrants, and the enhancing of Israel's image throughout the world.

From the internal Israeli and Zionist point of view, the most profound contribution of the kibbutz has been the creation and

perpetuation over a number of generations of the image of the New Jew and the True Israeli. No other type of settlement in Israel has succeeded so remarkably as the kibbutz in raising new generations of "sons of the old-new land." The kibbutzim are the greatest repository of unabashed patriotism in the land; they have raised generations of Jews who are the first natural-born farmers since Second Temple days; generations of Jews who, while retaining the fundamentals of Jewish intellectuality, are not ashamed to work with their hands; generations of Jews who, while retaining traditional Jewish and socialist concepts of humanism, do not flinch from devoting their lives to defending the land their fathers built.

THE KIBBUTZ in its fourth generation may yet have an even greater impact on the world outside Israel. Although it was a specifically Israeli invention, a reaction to very definite local conditions, its impressive success in providing answers to some of the problems plaguing modern societies may well prove to be Israel's greatest contribution to the welfare of mankind in the troubled 20th century. Yaacov Hazan's comments, in the accompanying interview, on the multi-generational kibbutz as a holistic society based on an integrating principle of mutual responsibility and commitment, provide a hint of the message of international self-fulfillment.

importance which the kibbutz bears.

Kibbutzim are no utopias. They exemplify an alternative way of life which deserves consideration by the growing number of people disenchanted with the deepening social alienation generated by modern life. Such consideration should include the advantages of kibbutz life and the price one must pay for them.

For those who are interested in pursuing such a study on a personal level, a rule of thumb is herewith offered to help them to distinguish between those established kibbutzim that are models of the success to which Hazan refers, and those that are best passed over in silence: judge by the number of kibbutz children who return home to stay after the army. To rephrase the Lucky Strike jingle, "kibbutz children are the ones who know kibbutzim best."

BOTH THE STATUS and the role of the kibbutzim in Israel have undergone significant changes. Kibbutzniks account for only three per cent of the Jewish population of Israel. In earlier days, they viewed themselves, and were viewed by many Israelis outside the kibbutzim, as a dedicated elite, the embodiment of the early image of the *halutz* the voluntarily impoverished pioneer who by his daily sacrifice pointed the way which the entire nation should take in pursuit of liberation and self-fulfillment.

Growing affluence has wiped out that image. Many urban Israelis regard kibbutzniks as a cross between feckless country bumpkins and sophisticated rural rip-off artists who have parlayed an early history of pioneering into investiture as a privileged landed gentry. This is largely a reflection of the jealousies which are rampant in an Israel that is revelling in unvarnished materialism.

The kibbutzim are partly at fault for this reversal of image. Since the late 1950s, they have retreated into a narcissistic involvement with themselves from which they are only now beginning to emerge. But in the process the legitimacy of their claim for special privileges based on their pioneering role in an earlier Israel has been undermined.

Most Israelis are unwilling to condone the special income tax rates, free education and other benefits accorded to the kibbutzim when they consider that the standard of living of the kibbutznik is already higher than that of the town-dweller. The image of the poor but pioneering kibbutznik will no longer wash. Nor can it be denied that there are ethnic undertones to the resentment of the largely "Ashkenazi" kibbutzim.

However, as they emerge from their long period of exclusivity self-involvement, various kibbutzim are doing extraordinary work by accepting and re-educating troubled urban youngsters. Younger kibbutzniks are also showing an increased interest in general political issues and public questions, and, together with younger people from the cities, they are becoming involved in new political movements.

Yaacov Hazan is probably right. Kibbutzim were founded as committed societies imbued with a mission. If this life-style of commitment to broader social and human ideals is permitted to flag for any appreciable length of time, the kibbutzim may well go the way of other communes which have succumbed to a surfeit of affluence and a paucity of zeal. In their fourth generation the kibbutzim have so far succeeded in warding off this danger.

Long may they persist. □



כפולה (K'FULA)

You need life insurance. Everybody does. But that's not all you need. One day you'll want to retire—that's when you'll appreciate your insurance benefits. And they'll be doubly welcome if your golden years can be truly carefree—if you know you're still insured. Impossible?

Up to now—yes. But today this double protection is not only possible, but easy. It's the whole idea behind Migdal-Binyan's new "K'FULA" Plan.

When you take out a "K'FULA" policy, you know two things: Migdal-Binyan will pay you a substantial sum when you reach age 65—money which may make your lifetime dream come true in your retirement years. And you'll stay insured for the rest of your life, without paying one extra agora.

Migdal-Binyan's exciting new "K'FULA" Plan offers you security—doubled and redoubled.

Think about it. You owe it to yourself. And your family.



Migdal-Binyan's latest plan

הכזא מן האל

YA'ACOV HAZAN, representative of the generation of kibbutz founding fathers in this triple interview, was in the midst of reading a Hebrew translation of Salo Baron's *A Moral and Social History of the Jewish People* when he was interviewed by Yosef Goell at the Tel Aviv apartment maintained by the Kibbutz Ha'artzi. He is a founding member of what is considered as the Maccabean and Jerusalem of this kibbutz federation, Mishmar Ha'emek, in the Jezreel Valley.

Hazan is 78, looks 58, and acts 38. "I know I'm 78 because I've always been two years younger than Meir Ya'ari who's just

celebrated his eightieth birthday, and I've never managed to catch up with him."

Hazan was a Mapam Knesset Member until 1973, when he quit together with his Mapam colleague, Ya'ari, to permit a younger generation (in their 30's and 40's) to take over.

He is considered a father figure and the moral authority of the Kibbutz Ha'artzi and spends a

delinquency and the like. I do not claim that there are no problems of adolescence or of old age in the kibbutz; certainly there are. It is difficult to think of any other modern society, however, which handles them as well.

To a large extent, this is because we have mastered the secret of meshing the member's individual life with his public responsibilities. At the beginning, we theorized about liberating the family from its economic chains and basing it on love and human relations. In this we have succeeded beyond our wildest dreams.

We also believe that we have succeeded in liberating children from the randomness of the fate of being born into this or that family, "inheriting" those or those parents. Kibbutz education as a substitute for the effects of such random fate has proven remarkably successful.

As a YOUNG movement, our socialism was accompanied by a deep appreciation of Freud, of the Vienna school of Adler, of Yosef Helm Brenner and A.D. Gordon and of Kropotkin's human socialism.

I must admit that in those early days we believed much too much in the ability of correct education to change human nature. We now know that it is much more problematic and difficult than that. But our kibbutzim are still based on a deep conviction that it is possible to transmit the ideals in which we believe to a younger generation through education.

It is true that there has been a major change in the composition of the kibbutz. We founders were a self-selected group of members of the Hashomer Hatzair youth

Part of a larger vision

good deal of his time helping troubled kibbutzim. "The result is that I rarely get to visit the majority of our kibbutzim which manage their affairs with a minimum of problems."

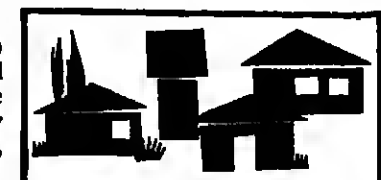
Hazan came to Palestine in 1923 after serving as a leader of the Hashomer Hatzair youth movement in Poland (he was born in Brest-Litovsk and grew up in Warsaw). He is inordinately

proud and admittedly inobedient about two matters: his father and his kibbutz.

"My father was a prodigy yeshiva bocher at the Volozhin Yeshiva where he studied under Rabbi Haim Solovitchik. He became a 'Zionist apostate' and was excommunicated by the Rabbi of Brisk. He was an extraordinary orator and a major speaker at early Zionist

Congresses, where people compared him to Herzl and the French Socialist leader Georges Jaures. After the Sixth Congress where the Uganda proposal was defeated, he became a Territorialist, knocking a territorial solution for Jews not necessarily in Palestine. He died of blood poisoning at the age of 32 when I was seven. They had not yet discovered penicillin then."

Hazan's entire life is wrapped up in his Kibbutz Mishmar Ha'emek, "which is a wonderful example of a kibbutz because of the extraordinary group of people who founded it and who, luckily, continued to be born into it."



KIBBUTZ JUBILEE

The kibbutz ethos has undergone radical changes. These are typified by three generations of kibbutzniks, interviewed here by YOSEF GOELL and MOSHE KOHN.

movement. Today, most of the members of our kibbutzim are not the results of such self-selection but have been born into the kibbutz. It is highly doubtful whether such a child would ever be rejected for membership, even though it is obvious that some are not suited for kibbutz life.

I know that there is outside criticism as to the growing materialism of the kibbutzim and the loss of equality. This is misleading.

Today, the material differences are much greater, but they constitute only the tip of the iceberg. Of the iceberg of our social ex-

istence, the submerged seven-eighths is the invisible equality which informs our life. True, the visible inequality is greater, but the invisible equality is even deeper than that.

THE IMPORTANT point is the meshing of the individual and his community. The kibbutz is not a static entity; it is constantly changing as new problems emerge.

All of that is looking at it retrospectively. But we always emphasized that the kibbutz was also part of a larger vision which revolved around the need to create a new Jewish man in a new Jewish society and state. If we ever lose this sense of mission and of commitment, we are destined to wither away, even if it takes 10 or 20 years.

True, it was easier to dream of these things in the old days before the Soviet Union proved such a disappointment to us all. It took us some time to learn that lesson.

We are now emerging from a period in the doldrums in which this external aspect of commitment to larger national and social ideals was somewhat neglected. The growing involvement of our kibbutzim in the larger problems of the nation is a welcome sign of the renewal of the movement's life, although it does carry with it the danger of internal fights and splits. But we will have to deal with these dangers as they arise.

All in all, I would prefer not to return to the kibbutz of 50 years ago, even though I was in my 20's then. It's much warmer, more human and more alive today.

It may also be more suitable in providing a challenge for the sort of Jews who should be attracted to

Israel from the affluent Jewish communities abroad. The Jewish People has developed into a nation of academics, and these will not come to Israel for the ideal of working for Buma Shoviv (Preadent of the Manufacturers' Association). They will want to work for themselves and this should be a wonderful opportunity for the rejuvenation of the cooperative movement including kibbutzim.

THE FACT is that we are beginning to realize the age-old dream of creating social units based on higher education for all members, coupled with universal participation in necessary physical labour. What is needed is a more open and experimental attitude to social structures as a basis for the attraction and absorption of the new Jews who should look to Israel for self-realization.

In general, we in the kibbutzim are now coming out of a difficult period. Members tell prey to the false message of the American concept of selfish self-realization at the expense of societal needs. What we need is both a return to the earlier ideals and an advance to newer concepts of self-realization as part of the realization of social goals.

All of this should explain why we continue to be organized in separate kibbutz movements. The differences in our ideological bases and in our social realities are still too great. And then, who says that bigger is better? Centralism is the bane of humanity. We can work best if each of us agrees to go his own way in the things in which we are different and to cooperate in the things in which we are similar. □

religious label on this, any label of "religious return" (hasara b'teshuva), though he does not rule out this "marginal possibility for those who wish it." He himself is not observant in any Orthodox sense.

The interview took place in Yaviv's modern three-room kibbutz apartment: a bedroom, sitting room containing, among other things, a large television; and a sizable front room which includes a kitchenette with eating table, a sofa, some easy chairs, a desk, and about 20 bookshelves containing mostly classical Jewish and Zionist texts. □

Going back to sources

Yaviv, Tank Corps veteran of Operation Kadesh (Sinai Campaign) and the Six Day War and the War of Attrition, novelist (Hakrav, about Operation Kadesh), and teacher, has been a gadfly of another sort. He is one of the veteran moving spirits of the "Bhdemot Group," comprising representatives of all four kibbutz movements, that produces

Shdemot, that highly regarded ideological and literary quarterly journal.

A TEACHER at the Maagan Michael regional school and at Oranim, the kibbutz teachers' seminary at Kiryat Tivon, Yaviv has also been perhaps the main driving force of a movement among his secularist contemporaries to study and teach the classical Jewish sources. His aim here, he says, is that the agalsh- sovereign Jewish people in its homeland shall root its life and outlook in the Jewish way of looking at things, and from there draw inspiration as the kibbutz movement's founders did.

He vigorously rejects attempts to pin any kind of

"BUT THIS isn't just a matter of my father, me, and my sons. The real question is where all three generations of us are in the whole chain of Jewish history and creation," says Yaviv Ben-Aharon.

He believes that the revolution brought about by the people of the Second Aliya — by the Zionist Labour movement in general and by the kibbutz movement in particular — was to bring the Jewish people into the latest stage of its original mission to be "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exodus 19:6); as Y.H. Brenner put it: "Let us inscribe on our flag, 'Ye shall be holy,' for our nation's God is holy."

Yaviv, whose conversation is heavily sprinkled with traditional Jewish analogies and classical Jewish allusions — from the Bible,

through the Talmud and Midrash, and on through the medieval and more recent commentators and thinkers — does not construe the above injunction in conventional religious terms. He sees the Jewish people as having gone through three main stages in its history. The first was the First Temple period, when the nation was led by the kings and priests and the prophets appeared on the scene to challenge the former when they became corrupt.

Then came the Second Temple period, when prophecy ended, the rule of the kings and priests reached its high point, especially when the Hasmoneans combined the kingship and high-priesthood, and the Talmudic Sages appeared on the scene. Already before the Destruction in 70 C.E. the Sages were challenging the leadership of

the kings and priests, and after the Destruction they became the nation's unchallenged leaders, remaining so for the next 18 centuries.

The third stage, which we are in now, is that of Zionism. The Enlightenment had seriously undermined the leadership of the rabbis, and Zionism — especially that symbolized by the Second (Continued overleaf)

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24, 1977

THE JERUSALEM POST — INDEPENDENCE DAY SUPPLEMENT

PAGE TWENTY-THREE

(Continued from page 23)

Allyn — "Overthrew the hegemony of the rabbis and," Yarov says, "created a new type — the dora in the areas of settlement, security, education, etc. — that took over their role as the shapers of Jewish life."

As a result, the *kibbutz* — the labouring pioneer — became for Jewish life now what the king, priests, prophets and rabbis were in their respective times. And "not the synagogue, but the field, the factory, the army unit, the schoolhouse, is today the centre of Jewish life."

Yarov continued: "But in rejecting the rabbis, the *kibbutzim* also rejected the Jewish sources. And this is what troubles me most as a child of the third stage. I never knew the sources created in the Second Temple period and after — Mishna, Gemara, Midrash. We are the product of a strange effort to educate us 'mehat'ach el hapoimah' — from the Bible right over to the Palmah — with nothing in between. I, for one, found myself unable to live in such a spiritual vacuum; the Jew in me couldn't take it."

"But it should be borne in mind that the bold step of the kibbutz movement's founders in cutting themselves off from Halacha was inevitable. For Halacha is an embracing, all-demanding system, and so was the Second Allyn ethos, with its own criteria as to what is 'boly' and what 'profane'."

"Remember: Halacha as such

had no response to the demands and possibilities of the end of the 19th century, as did Zionism and the Second Allyn. And then the secular kibbutz movement. It is no accident that the first Orthodox kibbutz was founded in full generation after Degania, and that today Hakibbutz Hadrati (the National Religious kibbutz movement, smallest of the four kibbutz movements) has only about 2,600 members, while Hashomer Hatzair (third largest) has more than 20,000.

"But I can't understand what Zionism and the kibbutz movement innovated without knowing and understanding the previous creations of Jewry. And I don't see any future for this innovation unless it draws its nurture from the Jewish primary sources."

WHEN DID Yarov first become aware that as a kibbutznik he was a new, different, revolutionary type of Jew?

"Oh, ever since I started becoming aware of things in general. It was inculcated upon us from the outset. There is the blue shirt (of his former youth movement). The shirt is our *talit* (ritual fringed garment worn by Orthodox Jews). The garment expresses the move towards a new reality. And the new reality reveals itself in the new type of person that is created. Yes, I always remember feeling a sense of mission."

"True, at that time I hadn't yet confronted the outside world, so I didn't really know relative to what

I was 'new'. But that's not important if you see the world around you change."

"No, the world hasn't really changed, and the kibbutz remains a minority. Oh, we exert some influence on the outside world, but we are also influenced. And Mao's ability to change is really very relative; he certainly doesn't change as a result of a one-time act."

"The question is — or rather was: Is the kibbutz really changing anything or creating anything new by the mere act of setting up its kind of economic institutions? From studying the Jewish sources, I learned to formulate the question better, and I came to the conclusion that we are not yet living in a redeemed world, or even in one that is in the process of redemption. Egalitarianism, cooperation, and all that are not yet the Redemption, though they are far-reaching transformations in the human experience."

"By studying the Jewish sources — mainly the Talmud and Midrash — I have found ample possibility of giving meaning to the Jew in an unredeemed world, in the This-World. The meaning is: The Redemption is just over the horizon and we must keep striving toward it."

"If you see the kibbutz in this light, you continue to strive. The spiritual problem of the kibbutz — of my generation — is to learn to aspire again, to strive again. People have stopped aspiring."

"For some people, the answer is

to go back to the old way of life — to rabbinical authority and to the way of life that the Jewish religion shaped — because that 'worked.' Those people identify the Second Temple period and the Jewish community of the Middle Ages."

"I try to measure contemporary Israel by the demands of the people of the Second Allyn and the literary sources they have left us, and the Jewish sources from which they drew. They revolted, but they knew what they were revolting against, they knew Jewish history and the Jewish primary sources. They dared to innovate without seeking backing for it in Biblical passages, but they drew the inspiration and fuel for their revolt from what the earlier generations of Jews had created. I went on to do the same, to be aware that what we are doing is rooted in what our forebears created."

"So for the bulk of the kibbutz movement, it is a matter of going back not only to the Bible and Talmud but also to Yosef Haim Branner and Aharon David Gordon (two moral and literary giants of the Second Allyn). On the other hand, we want Brenner along with the sources from which he drew."

"The Second Allyn generation had a revolutionary impact on the youth of Eretz Yisrael, by bringing them the idea of the youth movements from the Diaspora. And the crowning glory of the Eretz Yisrael youth movements was the Palmah. However, both

the strength and the weakness of the Palmah generation lie in the fact that it drew its inspiration and momentum from the Second Allyn, but without linking up with the latter's spiritual sources. The Second Allyn did not create in a spiritual vacuum, but was an integral part of the ongoing Jewish creativity of the ages."

HOW DOES Yarov explain the fact that, as he said, the kibbutz remains a minority, and such a small one; that it hasn't really changed the world and perhaps has even been changed by it — not necessarily for the better; and that ultimately it is, perhaps, except for its own members, a failure?

"Small minority? One hundred-and-ten thousand souls isn't exactly a small minority! And 'failure'? I wouldn't say that. Look at all the kibbutzniks and ex-kibbutzniks in leadership positions: in the army, of course; in government; in literature; in industry; in politics. In addition to their historic significance to the workers' parties, they are also prominent in such a group as the Democratic Movement for Change."

Yarov continued: "Take Gush Emunim even — a movement he opposes fervently, and which he fears as bearing the seeds of a pseudomessianic disaster. Hanan Porat is a kibbutznik. And Rabbi Moshe Levinger was for many years a kibbutz rabbi." □

THE MEMBER of the third generation of the kibbutz chosen for this trip interview is Ron Shapiro. Ron, just 20, is a grandson of Yosef Baratz, one of the original founders of the first kibbutz, Degania, in the Jordan Valley. He is the son of an American *oleh*, Avraham (Allen) Shapiro, a lecturer in Constitutional Law at Haifa University, and of Yael Baratz Shapiro.

Ron is currently in the army and was interviewed by Yosef Goeli in Tel Aviv. At a previous meeting in Degania, it soon

became apparent that Ron was a member of the large clan of Baratz descendants, which itself is an interesting indication of the changes that have occurred in the kibbutz in its third and now fourth generation. The family and the *homula* (extended family) are crucial elements in the informal organization of today's kibbutz

and provides an essential framework for the sense of satisfaction most members derive from the kibbutz.

This development contrasts with earlier attitudes, in which the nuclear family was often viewed as a competitor of the kibbutz collective for the member's loyalty and identification. As a result

much of kibbutz life today revolves around the family.

Throughout the interview 20-year-old Ron was concerned with the problem of not measuring up to the other two interviewees, 78-year-old Ya'acov Hazen and 49-year-old Yarov Ben-Aharon, in life experience and wisdom. He had no hesitation, however, in expound-

ing his views, on the understanding that they express only himself and perhaps by extension may be taken as representative of one set of views held by his age group in the kibbutz movement.

Ron's kibbutz, Degania Aleph, belongs to the Ihud Hakevutzot Vehakibbutzim federation, commonly said to be affiliated with the mainstream Mapai wing of the Labour Party. Before the creation of the Ihud in 1951, Degania was one of the original members of the Hevra Hakevutzot federation, the first *kibbutz*, having been founded in 1909.

RON SHAPIRO:

What is the kibbutz to me? It's home and it's a home where I feel comfortable. I have it good in Degania. I don't feel restricted in anything. I have everything that I need and that I think I may need in the future.

This is especially true in regard to university studies and to work. One of the things that has become accepted as the right of every kibbutz member is to study up to the level of a first degree if he wants to. Degania sends about 12 members a year to university, mostly younger members who wait their turn after returning from army service.

No, I don't stay on in Degania for ideological reasons; as I've said, it's mostly a matter of its being home and liking it here. If I were influenced by ideological reasons, I would leave Degania and go build a new kibbutz on the borders.

Of course, being the grandson of founding members of Degania, does have something to do with my decision to stay here, but others in the same category have left.

Several years ago, there was a wave of members, especially children of the kibbutz, leaving. The main reason was the desire of many younger members to study right after the army, at a time when the kibbutz had not yet formalized the matter. Now, most of

those among us who leave are girls marrying out to other kibbutzim, or boys who sign up for long stretches in the Regular Army. And then there are those who come back from the army with a burning desire to get some fresh air and see the big wide world. After all, as nice as it is, the kibbutz is still a very small community.

Yes, the kibbutz for me continues to be a society built on values. But I'm sure the values that our generation treasures are not necessarily the same ones my grandfather held. At least we don't put them into words in the same way.

For example? Well, I don't view the employing of hired labour by the kibbutz as a crime. I'm uncomfortable with it and I think its scope should be reduced, but it's no crime. I would like to see it reduced, but not so much because it flies in the face of my values as from a desire not to get involved in strikes and be subject to pressures from the local labour council.

THE ENTIRE matter of "this Labour Movement" is a matter of historical interest to me rather than a current concern and certainly not a value in itself. Certainly the Histadrut, or what has become of it, does not serve as a value for me, even though my grandfather was the key speaker



KIBBUTZ JUBILEE

at the Histadrut's founding convention in 1920.

I identify with other kibbutzniks and with moshavnikim, but not with city workers. I cannot identify with the latter mainly because of the irresponsible strikes which are always breaking out. To be honest, the kibbutz is no longer so much a community of workers, although it is true that we all work.

On the other hand, I don't identify with the Manufacturers' Association, although we in Degania are manufacturers. Equality between members remains an ideal, but it is no

longer as burning a question as the problem of the degree of participation by members in the life of the community. Problems of material well-being and equality have been solved through larger personal budgets, giving each member a greater freedom of choice in the material things he buys. All this, of course, is within the boundaries of a commonly accepted standard of living. For trips abroad, for example, we have three rosters: for young people just out of the army, for the middle generation, and for the plus-60's.

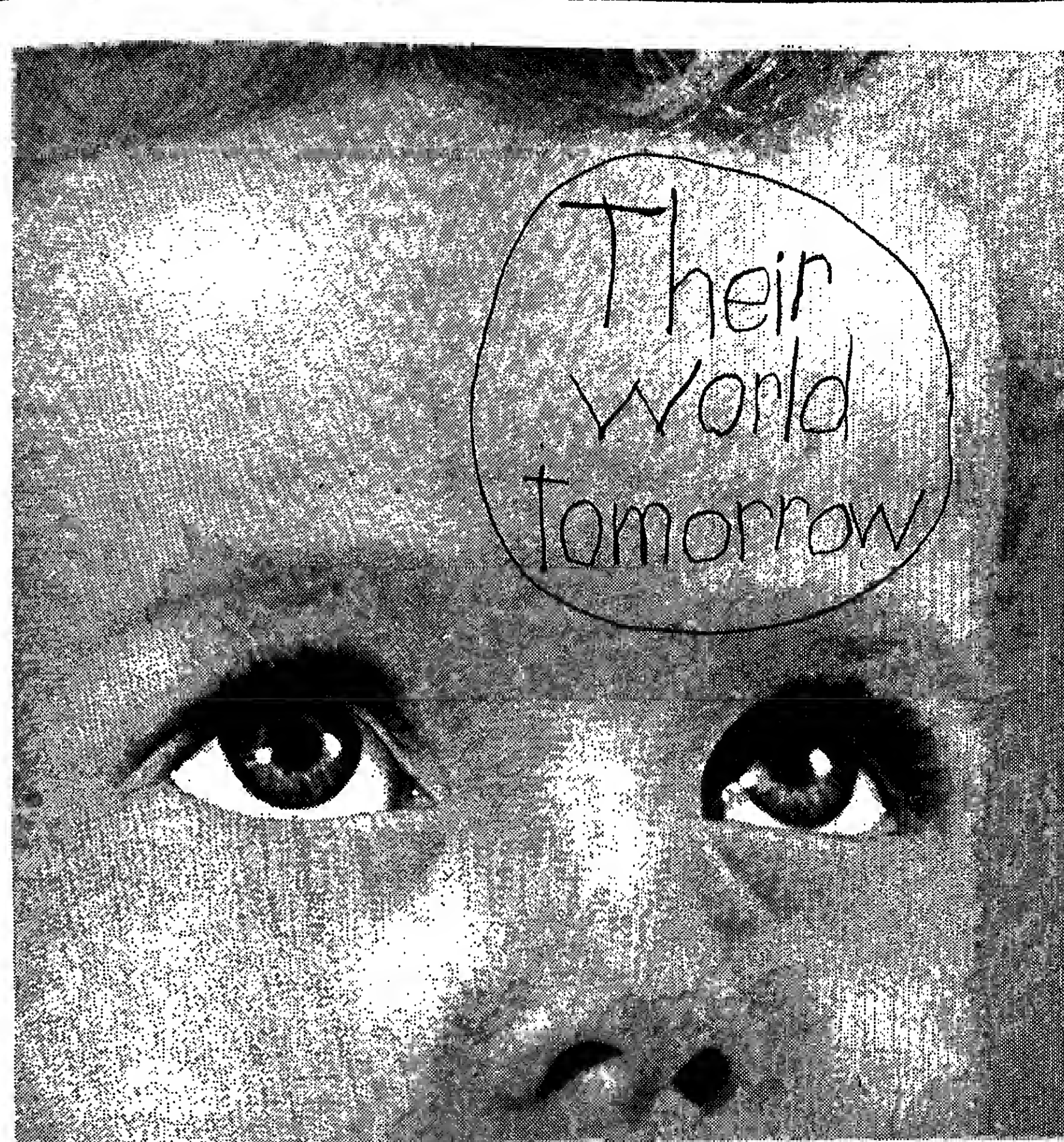
I believe that my generation is much more sensitive to questions of values and to the kibbutz as a community based on shared ideals than was the second generation. We are concerned primarily with the quality of life in the kibbutz and with its functioning as a community. The truth is that since television sets were given to members, they have tended to isolate themselves in their rooms rather than participate in kibbutz activities.

But the younger generation is attempting to reverse this trend. A special problem is that of the weekly general assembly, where participation is very low. Younger members have suggested a popular referendum as a substitute for the poorly attended assembly. But a proposal to resort to referenda for voting on the accept-

ance of new members was defeated. The younger generation is much more active in organizing communal cultural activities than was its parents' generation.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE and the State of Israel are ideals to me. The Jewish People, not in a religious sense — I would describe myself as anti-religious — but in a national sense. With regard to the State this expresses itself among our generation in striving to do our best while in the army. Most of our kids go to officer training and many become combat pilots and volunteer for dangerous combat units. Many continue in the Regular Army. This is largely a result of lifelong education in patriotism and love of country.

We're interested in politics and public affairs, but not necessarily in the same way that our founding fathers were. There are 30 members of the Democratic Movement for Change in Degania now and 10 girls voted for Shulemit Aloni's Citizens' Rights Movement in the last election. Why not unify the kibbutz movements? Well, why not? The old differences and schisms still mean something to the old timers but not to us. So it might come. On the other hand, I wouldn't rule out the possibility that some kibbutzim might evolve into something closer to today's form of the *moshav shitufi*. □



Shaping tomorrow's world for tomorrow's citizens is a task of challenge and responsibility. High in the priorities is the need to develop the world's food-producing resources to sustain a population that increases annually by 50 millions. Heavier and healthier crops are essential, and ICI's crop-production chemists are playing a leading part in the efforts now being made—not without success—to produce them. Concurrently with this work, other ICI scientists in many fields are pursuing, in the Company's pharmaceutical research laboratories, the quest for new and more efficient weapons in the fight against diseases that afflict not only man but also those animals that provide him with meat and milk, hides and wool. *The task is by no means complete. Much remains to be done. In ICI laboratories, the diligent, patient search continues for means of winning nature's bounty in increasing measure and ensuring, for tomorrow's citizens, a longer span for its enjoyment.*



IMPERIAL CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES LIMITED, LONDON, ENGLAND
In Israel: ICI (ISRAEL) LTD., P.O. Box 1703, America House, 35 Sderot Shaul Hamalech, Tel Aviv

ANTHOLOGIES of Oriental *ma'asiyot*, or Jewish folk-tales, are being collected from old-timers in the little-known but very picturesque old Sephardi neighbourhoods of Jerusalem, and several volumes of them have already been published.

One series was compiled by Moshe Rabi, who was born in one of these neighbourhoods. Determined that the stories should not be lost to future generations, he decided to gather them into a book. And the book — *Avoteinu Sipru* (Our Fathers' Tales) — has now become three.

Moshe Rabi has never missed an opportunity to get a story. For many years, as principal of a high school, he would gladly lend an ear to a story at a PTA meeting. He says that a Jerusalem-Haifa train trip also provides an excellent opportunity to dig out a few stories. He has never used a tape recorder, because it is something unfamiliar to the people in the little neighbourhoods and would probably make them feel uncomfortable.

Rabi mentions that *Avoteinu Sipru* is currently being used in the Hebrew classes of two Jewish schools in Brooklyn, and that schoolchildren in Haifa have dramatized one of the stories.

These books are also favourite reading in most religious Sephardi homes in Israel. As in the days of the Talmud and the Gemara, stories play an important role in the lives of the people. Much serious teaching and learning continues to be done by means of *ngudot*, *ma'asiyot* miracle stories, and so on.

The approach to teaching is radically different from the Western one, and direct explanation and analysis are rarely used. One reason for this is that most Oriental Jews of the poorer classes never learned to read and write, and thus were never exposed to foreign thought in books and other publications.

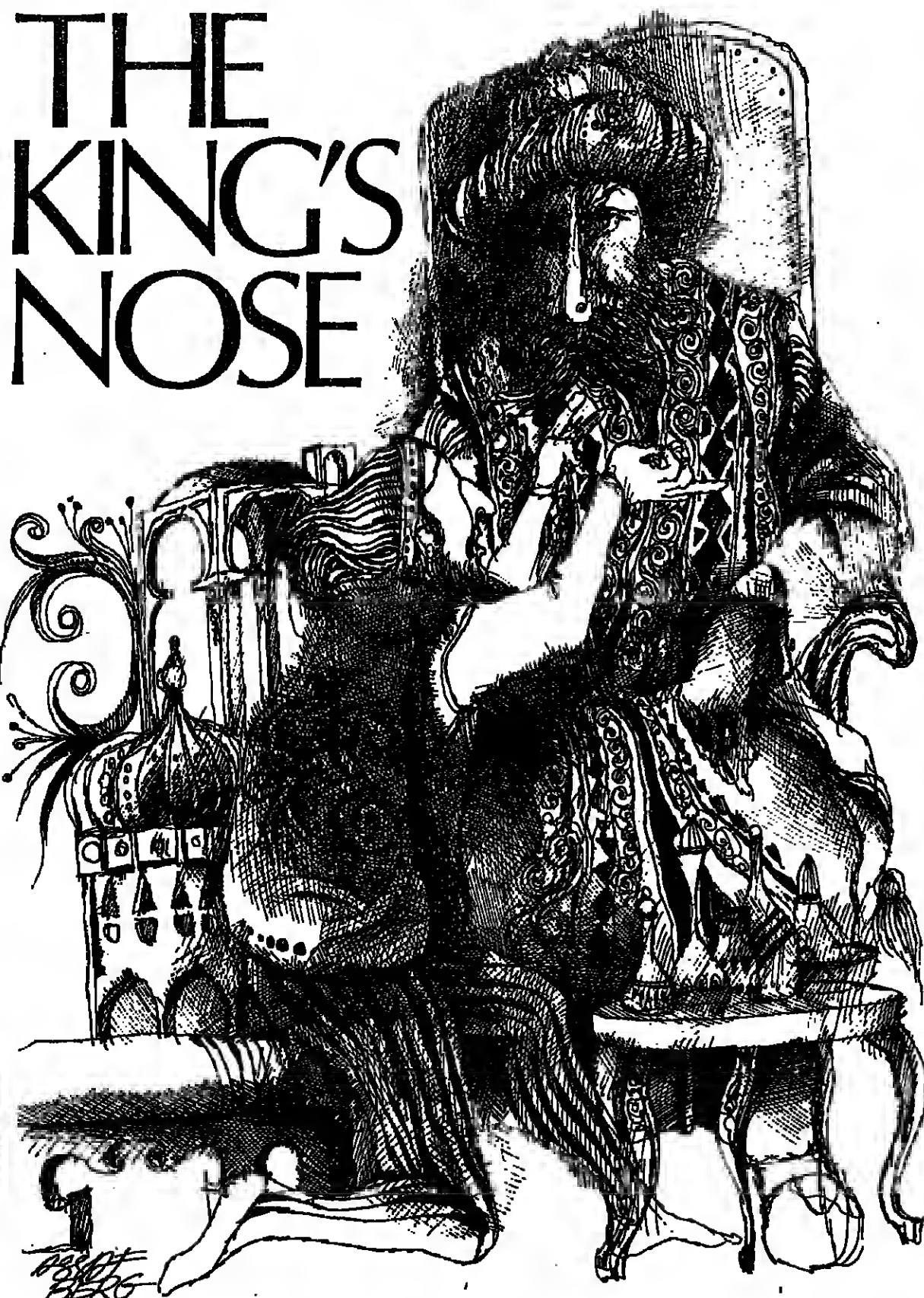
An additional reason is that the Western scientific reasoning process, taken for granted in Western Europe and in North America, is relatively unknown in the Middle East; rather, a concept is seen instantly with the "eyes of the soul," as Maimonides said. Attempts to discuss a topic in abstract academic terms with an average Middle Eastern Jew usually end in failure. But if he recognizes an idea, he may very well respond with: "Ah, yes, that was brought out in the story on..."

There are several Sephardi and Oriental neighbourhoods in Jerusalem — the Bukharan Quarter, Ohel Moshe, Zichron Yosef in the Mahane Yehuda area, and Nahlat Ahim off Rehov Ussishkin — where *ma'asiyot* are used every week in sermons by some of this outstanding Sephardi and Yemenite rabbis.

Listening to sermons is a favourite Shabbat pastime, almost as popular as the Sunday afternoon bullfight in Spain or Mexico. Every week, posters are pinned throughout the Bukharan Quarter and the Mahane Yehuda area, announcing the names of the preachers in big letters. The posters are read with interest on the way to synagogue, and people discuss who is preaching where, and to which sermon they should go. The most popular rabbis — Rav Ovadia Yosef, Rav Abu-Sha'ul, and Rabbani Leo Shorabi — draw standing-room-only crowds.

Sermons were as well attended in the ghettos of Baghdad, San'a and Meknes 80 years ago as they are in Jerusalem today, and they are discussed with the enthusiasm

THE KING'S NOSE



Folk-tales or *ma'asiyot* are still used for teaching purposes by many Oriental Jews who have never been exposed to foreign ideas in print. NAHAMA CONSUELO REZAC describes the function of *ma'asiyot* in the old neighbourhoods and selects examples of stories that helped Jews to maintain dignity, humour and perspective in difficult situations.

that is devoted to sports events in Latin countries.

The typical Oriental sermon lasts for at least two hours. It may begin with a kabbalistic interpretation of the weekly Torah portion, and be followed by a discussion on Halacha, using folk-tales to illustrate a point.

The following anecdotes have been chosen for their psychological insights and the light they shed on various non-Jewish environments.

AN OLD kadi (Muslim judge) sat in his office in the Iraqi city of Mosul. He summoned his servant and asked: "What is the matter with you, Ahmad? Why haven't you brought me my coffee?"

Ahmad said, "There is no coffee

in the house."

"Go down to the store and get some," said the kadi.

"They won't want to give us any more credit," Ahmad replied.

The kadi said: "It's impossible to live through a day without coffee. My head is already going round and round. Go into the street and bring me the first person you see."

AHMAD went down to the street. When a man came by, he scooped him and said, "Come along, the kadi wants to see you."

"Why?" asked the man, puzzled. "I haven't done anything."

Ahmad took the man to the kadi's office, and the kadi pulled out a file and started to thumb through the papers in it. He asked

the man his name, address and age, and wrote it all down with great seriousness. Finally, he asked the man if he owed anyone any money. The man answered that he had no debts. Did anyone owe him money? "No," said the man.

Then the kadi said: "You must pay 11 dinars: one dinar for a stamp, and 10 for an attestation that you neither owe nor are owed any money."

The man was obliged to pay the amount and the kadi had money for coffee again.

IN A CERTAIN community in Turkey, it was the custom for each merchant and shopkeeper to contribute towards the students' Sabbath needs.

One week, the student who

collected the contributions brought back much less than usual. The merchants and shopkeepers had not made enough money and could not afford to take the usual sum. The head of the yeshiva divided the money as he could; but in the end there was only five dinars for the students.

The student asked: "What do we do with so little?"

The rabbi answered: "Go and buy your things for the Sabbath and Hashem will help."

The student took his five dinars and went to the butcher's. He bought half the amount of meat he was accustomed to buying, paid three dinars for it, and dropped the remaining two into his pocket. Preoccupied with hurrying because of the approaching Sabbath, he ran through the crowded street, vegetables and fruit and necessities, no longer thinking about the money but only about getting home with the food.

Each purchase, he put his coin or two. When he finally got home, he still had two left.

The student and his wife enjoyed a restful Sabbath always. On the Sunday morning, his wife said, "Give me a money to go shopping."

Her husband said, "I still have two dinars in my coat pocket. Friday: take them for the shopping."

His wife reached into the pocket, but found nothing. She brought the coat to her husband and said, "Where's the money? Maybe you can find it."

He, too, looked in the pocket. There was nothing. "That's strange," he said. "I don't remember having two there when I got home and took my coat on Friday afternoon."

The student went to the yeshiva, and told him the story. "I went out and bought everything we needed with the money you gave me, and I had two dinars when I got home. This morning I went to the pocket, and there was nothing there."

"Oh," said the rabbi. "A blessing was only for the both."

THE KABBALA was studied much more widely in the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern communities than in Northern Europe. It was common to find a kabbalist in their little holes-in-the-wall in the shuk, as they still are in Jerusalem, poring over the books between customers. My father, an integral part of all religious thought and teaching to Oriental and Sephardi communities, was an educational leader, and his influence can be seen in the ample.

SEÑOR Rafael Pigotio was of the richest men in the city. He was also the proud owner of a thoroughbred horse which he rode every day and to which he was very attached.

One day the horse fell sick and died. Señor Rafael felt deeply, and his unhappiness could be seen in his face. He had a hard week, the week the horse died, as his wife had to be ill too.

Señor Rafael happened to see Ray Eliaz who, seeing Rafael sad estate, asked why he was so unhappy.

"My best horse just died," he answered.

Ray Eliaz said: "You must be sad; on the contrary, I

collected this passage in Psalm 50 where it says, 'I will take no reward of thy house.' As are the in-laws of your wife, Rivka. Hashem week and could not afford to take the usual sum. The head of the yeshiva divided the money as he could; but in the end there was only five dinars for the students."

Jews in ALL the different Sephardi communities had one thing in common — their position in relation to the Diaspora. And there is a Jewish story common to all the Diaspora. It illustrates Jewish oneness and the observance of the gentile persecutors. Because such oneness would not have been very often in real life, it was an important element in the Jewish mind, which enabled the Jews to maintain dignity, humour and a certain perspective in difficult situations.

The next story, a Moroccan favourite, is one of these.

THE BRITISH Mandatory authorities in Palestine were not always friendly to the Jews, tending to side with the Arabs in Arab-Jewish disputes. And this, of course, frequently made life less easy for the Jewish citizens of the country.

One Friday morning, Abujidd, a Moroccan Jew, was walking home from the Hebron shuk, his basket full of fruit and vegetables for the Sabbath. An Arab driving a donkey cart, approached at a

gliding pace from the opposite direction. When Abujidd came within earshot of the Arab, he saw him strike the donkey's rump with a stick and shout to the animal: "Hurry up, Jew, Move!"

Abujidd's Jewish pride could not take such an insult. He immediately walked over to the donkey and pretended to whisper in its ear. As he whispered, and unseen by the Arab sitting in the cart, Abujidd touched the billy of the donkey for an instant with the tip of his cigarette. The donkey jumped into the air, broke his harness, and bolted down the road.

The Arab, who was still in his cart, waved his arms and shouted many unpleasant things. A passing British policeman came up and asked: "What's going on here?"

The Arab said, excitedly: "He said something to my donkey, who bolted off down the road. He stole my donkey."

The policeman then turned to Abujidd, who was standing by, and said with an innocent expression on his face: "So, let's hear from you now," said the policeman.

Abujidd said: "Well, as you know, Friday is the day we Jews prepare for our Sabbath, which means at sundown. I heard this man address his donkey as a Jew, and that, since he is a Jew, he had better hurry home so as not to be late for lighting the candles."

The policeman smiled and con- sidered on his way.

SOMETIMES it was necessary to apply a little one-upmanship in the Jewish community in Jerusalem. Naham Haim Perela, of the old Sephardi community in Jerusalem, wanted to put a stop to the atmosphere in the women's gallery of his synagogue, where they were accustomed to engage in lively discussions during the sermons.

On the Shabbat Yavara, he saw a golden opportunity with the presence of Abraham and Sarah, old and well stricken in years. He turned to the women

and said: "Señoras! Every person has been given a certain number of words to use during his lifetime, and when they are used up he is ready to leave this world. Women spend most of their stock of words in chatter and die before their husbands. In today's portion it says that Abraham and Sarah grew old together — Sarah was not like the rest of the women in that she didn't talk so much and thus deserved to live to old age at her husband's side."

The sermon had the desired effect and after that Sabbath, quiet prevailed in Naham Perela's synagogue.

FINALLY, there is the just-for-fun story, which can be told over a cup of thick black Turkish coffee on any occasion.

A Turkish king developed a boil on his nose, which became infected, and his doctor was unable to do anything for him. The king could not keep his hands off the sore spot; every time it began to heal, the king would scratch it and it would become infected again. The doctors no longer wanted to try to cure the king, and he was at his wits' end. He announced that he would give anything, up to half his kingdom, to anyone who would cure the sore on his nose.

A poor man who lived in desperate circumstances heard of the king's promise and said to himself: "What do I have to lose? I will go to the king and, who knows, maybe I can do something for him."

He dressed in his best clothes and went to the palace, where he told the guards that he was a doctor and that he had come to help the king. The guards hurried to tell the king that someone had come to try to cure him, and the king ordered that he be brought before him.

When the man entered the king's chamber, the monarch said to him: "Listen, many have tried to cure me but have not succeeded. Why should you lose your life? You do know that the penalty for failure is death, don't you?"

The man said, "I am aware of that, but I am still willing to try. Will you please take off your shirt?"

The king took off his shirt, and the "doctor" examined his chest and his abdomen, once or twice poking the king in the stomach. Then he said to the king: "You can put your shirt back on."

The king did so and asked, "Well?"

The man said: "I am afraid to tell you my diagnosis."

"You're a doctor and are thus obliged to tell me what's wrong with me," the king replied.

"Only on the condition that you promise not to have me executed."

"I promise," the king said. ...

The doctor took a deep breath. "According to my findings, from the examination of His Majesty's abdomen, His Majesty is going to have a baby."

"WHAT?!"

"Yes, it's true. You are in your third month." The doctor's self-assured tone convinced the king, and he began to worry about what people would say in the palace — and outside it. A man giving birth!

Every day the king worried; and he spent too much time feeling his abdomen to see if there were any changes, that he left his nose alone. A month went by and the sore healed.

When the "doctor" returned to see his patient, he found a healthy nose with no trace of the sore. He examined the king once more and said: "I have half a kingdom coming to me." □

RESIDENTS OF JERUSALEM

10%

Discount

to all those who pay their taxes by the end of April.

Payments are accepted at all banks and at the Municipal Treasurer's Department, 67 Rehav Haneviim. During April the Department will also be open from 4-6 p.m. (except for eves of holidays and Friday afternoons).

Those who have not received a payment booklet but wish to take advantage of the opportunity are requested to apply to the Municipal Treasurer's Department.



YOU WIN SOLDIERS BENEFIT

7,667 PRIZES IN THE VAAD LEMAAH HACHAYAL GRAND LOTTERY 1977

Medical Massage
Breathing exercises
Physiotherapy
Elisabeth Birrer
16 Sderot Hayeled, Ramat Gan
Tel. 786724

MASHA Maternity Dresses
CLOSING-DOWN SALE! BIG DISCOUNTS.
LARGE SELECTION OF BEAUTIFUL GARMENTS.
Suits, trousers, tunics, pinafiores, maxi and midi dresses.
Tel Aviv, 46 King George St. (near Allenby Road).
Open continuously throughout the day. Tel. 282315.

Changing times

PEOPLES OF THE SEA by Immanuel Velikovsky. New York: Doubleday & Jackson 261 pp., 16 plates. £5.95

Eva Danielius

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1906, Breasted's *History of Egypt* was considered the standard work in English in this field until 1961, when Sir Alan Gardiner published his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*.

Notwithstanding the progress made in Egyptology during the years since 1906, the main problems they present are still as enigmatic as they were at the beginning of the century. "What is proudly advertised as Egyptian history is merely a collection of rags and tatters," complained Gardiner, who felt equally uneasy when dealing with "the difficult problem of chronology." As to the royal names, they "are apt to be incredibly distorted." And he concluded: "...It will be seen how sadly in discussing matters... we are reduced to guesswork."

It is against this background that every attempt to attack the problems of Egyptian history or chronology should be welcomed and studied. Especially one that comes from an outsider like Velikovsky, an M.D. and a psychoanalyst who is not inhibited by existing theories and interdisciplinary boundaries.

It is difficult to evaluate a work of this kind. How does one pick out the rarer genius who may emerge from among the oranks on the fringe of science, determined to overturn basic theories and present a radical new hypothesis?

In the case of Velikovsky, time has come to the rescue. It is exactly 25 years since Velikovsky started his "Ages in Chaos" series, of which this is the last volume. The declared purpose of the series was to reconstruct Egyptian history from the beginning of the so-called 2nd Intermediate Period (18th century B.C.E.) down to the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Macedonian (332 B.C.E.). Contrary to the accepted chronology, Velikovsky, for reasons which will be immediately explained, fixed

the date for the beginning of the 2nd I.P. at the 15th century B.C.E. From there, the first volume — *Ages in Chaos* — reconstructs the history of the following six centuries, ending with the 9th century B.C.E.

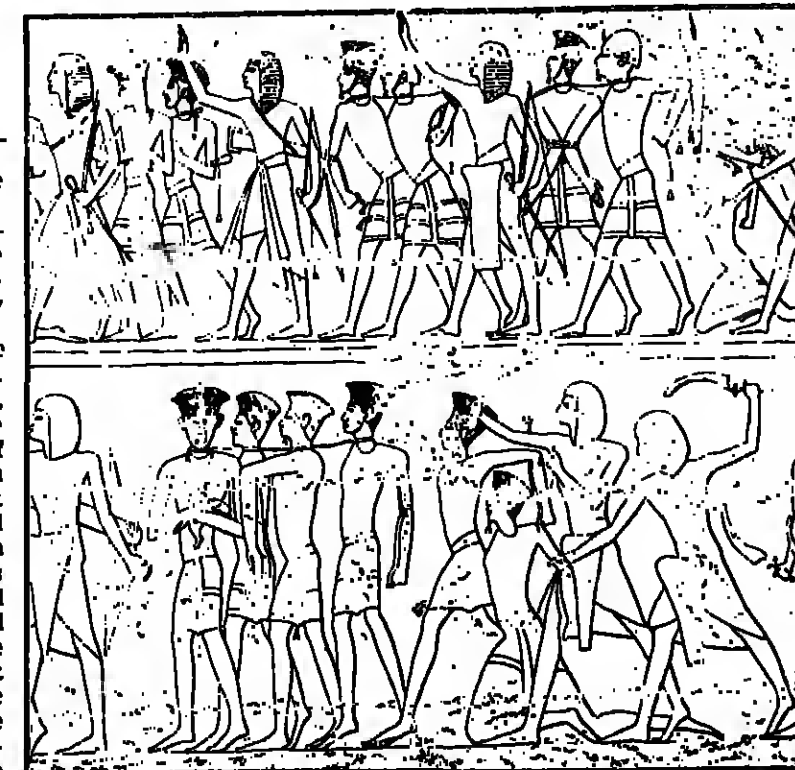
Ages in Chaos was not the first book published by its author. Two years earlier, in 1956, Velikovsky shocked the scientific world with the publication of *Worlds in Collision*, a book which immediately occupied the first place on the best-seller lists and remained there for months on end. The essential thesis of this book is that the world's myths and legends and geological and archeological data, as well as the written records of many ancient cultures, make much better sense if they are interpreted as evidence of a series of near-catastrophic approaches to Earth by identifiable planetary bodies.

In 1950, this hypothesis went against all established theories. Since then, however, discoveries made by the various space satellites have verified quite a number of Velikovsky's estimations.

FOR THE BIBLICAL student, Velikovsky's reconstruction of Egyptian history should be of special interest. In the Old Testament, Egypt is mentioned more than 600 times. To the great disappointment of Egyptologists and biblical students alike, however, almost none of the thousands of Egyptian writings on papyrus, and on the walls of its temples and other monuments, seems in accordance with biblical statements on mutual contact.

According to Velikovsky, this startling lack of conformity is the result of erroneous chronology. As soon as this chronology is revised, conformity of the Egyptian records with biblical history will be restored. And he undertook to prove this.

Velikovsky started with the story of the Exodus from Egypt. Most Egyptologists saw in this story no more than the crossing of just another Beduin tribe from the Nile Valley to the Sinai Desert — an event not to be recorded by the Egyptian frontier garrison.



Sea People and Perseid prisoners being led into Egyptian captivity.

In contrast, Velikovsky, by applying his theory of world catastrophes, became convinced that the story of the Ten Plagues was evidence of the fact that the Exodus took place during a time of such global upheaval. If so, there had to be a similar eyewitness account in the Egyptian material already known.

His search was not in vain. It seemed to him that the papyrus which had been published in 1909 under the title "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage" contained the record he was looking for. Contrary to the interpretation of the Egyptologists, Velikovsky recognized in the text the Egyptian version of a great catastrophe which had befallen the land. By comparing passages from the papyrus with passages from the Book of Exodus, Velikovsky became convinced that both sources described the same event.

This, then, became the starting point from which he built his so-called "revised chronology." In order to be able to do so, however, Velikovsky had first of all to free Egyptian chronology from the strait-jacket of the so-called Sotie theory, according to which the Egyptian calendar was bound to the rising of Sotie (the Dog Star), and the "astronomically fixed dates" based on it.

THE LATEST volume takes its title from the famous reliefs cut into the walls of the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinat Habu in Upper Egypt, which illustrate his fight against the so-called Peoples of the Sea (literally, Peoples of the Islands).

These people were led by a nation whose name is written p-r-s-t in hieroglyphs. The time, according to conventional chronology, was the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. Since Egyptians had no letter for "L" but used the sign for "R" instead, it was decided that this people called p-r-s-t were the Philistines (Pileshet in Hebrew).

Velikovsky did not accept this view. The same name, p-r-s-t, appears on the Egyptian monument from the Ptolemaic period — 3rd century B.C.E. — the so-called Canopus Decree, written in Greek and hieroglyphs in addition to cursive. There, p-r-s-t corresponds to the Greek name for the Persians. Velikovsky remembers, too, the Hebrew name for Persia, which is similar to the Egyptian: p-r-s (Paras). After having identified the invaders as Persians, chronology had to be changed accordingly, and Ramses III to be moved by 800 years, from the 12th down to the 4th century B.C.E. (and with

him the entire XXth Dynasty of conventional history). Many of the contradictory observations made at the various excavated sites in the Delta region could now be settled, partly with the help of Persian and Greek records of the time. Also, the special character of the so-called XXth Dynasty could be explained, by comparing development in Egypt under the Persians with that in Judah — quite illuminating for Israeli historians.

IN THE FIRST volume of the "Ages in Chaos" series, Velikovsky had made the famous XVIIIth Dynasty contemporaneous with Shaul, David, Solomon, and the kings of the divided monarchies down to Josaphat and Ahab, covering the time from the 15th to the 9th century B.C.E. "Peoples of the Sea" covers the time from the Persian conquest to the Ptolemaic age, i.e. the 6th to the 4th century B.C.E. Still missing are the volumes dealing with the 9th to the 15th centuries B.C.E. One of these, "Ramses II and his Time" is already in proofs; two others are in preparation.

So far, Egyptologists and specialists of biblical and post-biblical history have been unwilling to take notice of Velikovsky's "revised" chronology, let alone to experiment with it. No doubt, acceptance of it would make most of the products of their toil as obsolete as the books on astronomy, physics and ancillary sciences written before the space age.

There is a new generation of scholars who have no vested interest in upholding theories whose validity has been seriously challenged. In 1967, the 25th graduates of Yale University dedicated an entire issue of the *Scientific Review* to a discussion of Velikovsky's books. Velikovsky was invited to lecture at several universities in the U.S. and Canada, and symposia were organized in order to discuss his theories. In many universities, his books are required reading. And a Velikovsky Centre has been established at Glassboro College in New Jersey. A similar centre was founded in England. Neither centre claims that Velikovsky is infallible, but both are convinced that his ideas — regardless of how unpalatable they may be to some people — stimulate thought and experiment and deserve to be tested. □

line of champions, and the heavyweight crown is sport's richest prize. The major portion of this book is devoted to the heavyweights.

GENTLEMAN Jim Corbett can be seen fighting Peter Courtney in 1894, when a motion picture camera was used to film a fight for the first time. Bob Fitzsimmons can be seen disposing of Peter Maher in Mexico (boxing was illegal in Texas at the time). The golden smile and undeniable talents of Jack Johnson are here.

The Jack Dempsey era, very well documented, included the near-slaughter of Jess Willard, and the first million-dollar gate (for the fight against Frenchman Georges Carpentier). We see Dempsey's legs disappearing through the ropes after a barrage from Luis Firpo, and are reminded of this controversial "Long Count" (in the fight against Gene Tunney).

The Jos Louis decade deserves all the photographs devoted to this fine exponent of the sport. They say the camera does not

lie, and neither does age in the ring. Bidding Joe Louis, a shadow of his former self, meets his match at the bruising hands of the young Rocky Marciano. The latter's reign was followed by good, but colourless, champions, until the arrival of Cassius Clay, now Muhammad Ali.

Everyone, but everyone, has heard the "Louisville Lip," the "Greatest." One suspects that the decision to revise and update this book was due to the renewed international appeal of boxing, which may be traced to this one man.

Though the heavyweight division has always mirrored the condition of the fight game, there have also been distinguished champions and exciting moments in the lighter divisions over the last 80 years. And practically every one of the champions is here.

The compilers of this pictorial history have generally allowed the photographs to speak for themselves. The text is necessary, brief, preserving the chronological sequence of the events depicted. □

Peace fighter

UBER DEN FRIEDEN, by Albert Einstein. Bern: Herbert Lang & Cie AG, 675 pp. No price stated.

Jakob Hessing

THE DOCUMENTS pertaining to Albert Einstein's lifelong efforts as a pacifist were previously published in an English edition (*Einstein on Peace*, New York: Simon & Schuster). Carefully collected and meticulously edited by Otto Nathan and Helmut Norden, they have now been made available in their original German version.

The essence of an historical period often becomes evident in the predicaments of great men who lived through it. A man of eminent rationality, Einstein played a major part in the intellectual revolution of his age. But deeply disturbed by the militant irrationality of his contemporary society, he was incapable of withdrawing into the ivory tower of research and closing his eyes to a deteriorating social and political situation.

From 1914, when he signed G.F. Nicolai's "Manifesto to Europeans," to 1955, when near the end of his life he signed Bertrand Russell's manifesto, Albert Einstein ceaselessly fought a losing battle for a world without war. For the scientist, of course, there was a practical side to pacifism, for only peace brought the order and intellectual freedom necessary for unhampered research. But, for Einstein, there was more to it than this.

"My pacifism is an instinctive feeling, a feeling that possesses me; the thought of murdering another human being is abhorrent to me. My attitude is not the result of an intellectual theory but is caused by a deep antipathy to every kind of cruelty and hatred."

In reply to a letter by Einstein, Sigmund Freud explained the destructive instinct in human nature. The letter, one of the most striking documents in the volume, received an answer of characteristic modesty, praising Freud's "truly classic reply."

In another note — to someone else — Freud, with penetrating insight, illuminates the beautiful personality underlying Einstein's phenomenal intellect: "In praising my style and skill in presentation, Einstein merely proves how well-meaning a man he is. He would like to give me credit for the content of my writings. But lacking the necessary understanding, he praises at least my style."

If Einstein did not understand, it was not because of his intellect but his temperament, which made him immune to Freud's cultural pessimism.

Einstein never thought of himself as a psychologist. In a letter to Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, he wrote: "I should have written you long since, and would have, were you not the Queen. Yet, I am not quite clear why this fact should be an obstacle. But such questions lie more within the province of a psychologist. Most of us prefer to look outside rather than inside ourselves; for in the latter case we see but a dark hole, which means: nothing at all."



AT A TIME when political battles were fought with psychological means, Albert Einstein, as a scientist, had no need for psychology. For scientific truth, to him, was the truth of natural science; it was a liberation "from the chains of the merely personal," and its validity did not hinge on human factors.

Einstein, then, was singularly miscast in the arena of politics. A man of great personal modesty, he never saw himself as a teacher or leader of others. Instinctively suspicious of any attempt to justify human behaviour scientifically, he rarely viewed political situations in their historical context and often blamed historians for their militaristic pronouncements.

There is a bitter irony in all this. It was a psychological abhorrence of cruelty and hatred which drove Einstein to the forefront of pacifism — and history, in the

end, caught up with him. A onetime militant supporter of War Realism, Einstein saw no choice but to urge worldwide rearmament against the threat of Hitler after 1933.

And from 1945 until his death 10 years later, he was deeply involved in attempts to curb the dangers of the atomic bomb; and yet he had felt obliged in 1939 to inform President Roosevelt of advances in atomic research in Germany. Einstein's letter is said to have launched the Manhattan Project, which led to the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

But there was no inconsistency in Einstein's attitude. He set out of consideration for the cultural and humanitarian values which he held sacred, and his actions were not prompted by political reasons.

His strong interest in Zionism is fully documented in this volume. Never a politician, Einstein could not accept the Presidency of the State of Israel when it was offered to him on Weizmann's death in 1942. But his draft for an address on Israel's Independence Day, shows very clearly the idealistic nature of Einstein's involvement in the public issues of his time.

"At issue is the conflict between Israel and Egypt. You may consider this a small and insignificant problem and may feel that there are more serious things to worry about. But this is not true. In matters concerning truth and justice there can be no distinction between big problems and small; for the general principles which determine the conduct of men are indivisible. Whoever is careless with the truth in small matters cannot be trusted in important affairs."

The address, however, was never delivered. Albert Einstein died on April 18, 1955, before he had even completed the draft. □

Showbiz phoenix

JOSH by Joshua Logan. Delscore Press, New York 1976. 330 pp. \$10.00

Jennie Tarabulus

JOSHUA LOGAN, one of America's most prolific director-producer-writers reads like a character straight out of Tennessee Williams. Renred in the deep South, where his father committed suicide, Logan lived with a possessive mother and a cruel sister until his marriage at 37. This, plus two full-blown nervous breakdowns, qualify him for a doomed end.

But Logan switches the script. He sends himself to a psychiatrist and, overcoming nightmarish manic-depressive attacks, rises like a phoenix to a renewed theatrical career and happy end, all told in this rather luridly appealing autobiography. His story is good on two levels: as superb reconstruction of stage successes from rough draft to glittering opening night, and as an example of the bitter price paid by creators of that magic.

Theatre is joint creativity. And its built-in tensions exacerbated by staggering egos are the perfect cause of breakdowns, like Logan's, or of self-destruction, which he observed in colleagues. Larry Hart, with whom he worked on a Rodgers and Hart show, was found dead in a gutter. Tom Heggan, author of *Mr. Roberts* committed suicide shortly after his great stage success; and William Inge of *Picnic* fame ended his life tragically.

Good theatre is never collaboration; artists can't collaborate, states Logan. They pursue ideas, urges, and egos to the edges of disaster, and only then make creative, or financial compromises to save the show.

HOW LOGAN broke down and how he suddenly understood his mania elation makes for hair-raising reading; but it is never morbid and it is balanced by his sense of the ludicrous. When he was inducted into the army, an examining physician asked about his mental health. Logan replied "sound as a nut" and was waved into uniform. His big fear was rejection by the theatre after such illness. But apparently showbiz considers mental crack-ups something like a nasty cold.

Richard Rodgers immediately hired him for a musical and Hollywood impatiently phoned to see if he was all right as they needed him to direct a movie. His story's happy end comes with discovery of lithium carbonate treatment which, he says, eliminated his manic-depressive days forever.

Logan's book is crowded with stage and movie personalities. Though occasionally catty, it is a generously instructive, poignant look at theatre in the raw. As a Princeton student, he made a pilgrimage to Moscow to observe his idol Stanislavsky, who urged him: "Love the art in yourself, rather than yourself in the art." Josh loves both. There are 60 photographs and an index. □

Noble science

A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF BOXING by Sam Andre and Nat Fleischer. London, Hamlyn. 383 pp. £8.95.

Rodney Franklin

BOXING enthusiasts will be delighted with this revised and updated edition of what must be the most comprehensively illustrated book ever published on this subject. Most of the photographs, illustrations and engravings — and there are about 1,000 of them — have been culled from the files of the authors. Many are rare and appear here for the first time.

Though the modern era of the sport began with the official use of gloves and the advent of the "great" American fighter, John L. Sullivan, towards the end of the 19th century, it was in fact the English who produced a number of skilled pugilists in the preceding century and establish-

ed their primary position in the annals of boxing history. Illustrations from this period are extremely rare; they depict social occasions more than prize-fights, which at that time were not simply a matter of fistcliffs. Around 1720, artist William Hogarth produced a fine visiting-card for the first nationally recognized bare-knuckled champion, James Figg, which advertised the new sport of the "Noble Science of Defence."

The fine prints of English fighters in the 18th and early 19th centuries portray wide-stanced, muscled-bound antagonists in traditional poses. Fight scenes tend to be bloody affairs against a background of colourful crowds standing around the "ring," on the same level as the fighters. If part of the crowd appears exceedingly well attired, it should be remembered that it was not uncommon for prize fighters to be under the patronage of

aristocratic sportsmen. Nor was it uncommon for artists, poets and novelists to attend these affairs — for inspiration and profit, no doubt.

The era was dominated by Daniel Mendoza, the first Jewish champion; by Gentleman John Jackson, admired by the Prince of Wales, later George IV, and greatly praised by Lord Byron; by John Gully, who was released from debtor's prison and became a champion and, later, a member of the British parliament — a return to the benches, as it were.

In what was, in effect, the first "world championship" fight, between Tom Sayers of England and Tom Heenan of America, victory sadly eluded both fighters. The partisan English crowd took exception to having their champion strangled by the American — with a little help from the top rope — and stormed the ring. The fight was declared a draw.

This close of the 19th century witnessed the ascendancy of the American boxers. Heavyweight fighters made the headlines. There has since been a colourful

line of champions, and the heavyweight crown is sport's richest prize. The major portion of this book is devoted to the heavyweights.

GENTLEMAN Jim Corbett can be seen fighting Peter Courtney in 1894, when a motion picture camera was used to film a fight for the first time. Bob Fitzsimmons can be seen disposing of Peter Maher in Mexico (boxing was illegal in Texas at the time). The golden smile and undeniable talents of Jack Johnson are here.

The Jack Dempsey era, very well documented, included the near-slaughter of Jess Willard, and the first million-dollar gate (for the fight against Frenchman Georges Carpentier). We see Dempsey's legs disappearing through the ropes after a barrage from Luis Firpo, and are reminded of this controversial "Long Count" (in the fight against Gene Tunney).

The Jos Louis decade deserves all the photographs devoted to this fine exponent of the sport. They say the camera does not

Toast of London

VIOLET TREFUSIS: Life and Letters by Philippe Julian and John Phillips. London, Hamish Hamilton. 244 pp. £5.75.

Evelyn Strouse

YEARS AGO I had a friend whose mother was the mistress of a powerful United States senator. Famous, too, and if not so renowned or glamorous as Edward VII of England certainly a mightier mover and shaker than His Majesty. All of us thought that this daughter of so dashing a mother would herself be a sex symbol, but alas, she was stout and plain and devoted to her cute little husband.

Violet Keppel Trefusis, on the other hand, was a two-sex symbol. Beautiful and damned, and even more unlike my friend, in love with being her mother's child. More than one book that mentions Violet records the fact that when she was a little girl she would chant, "De Madame Keppel je suis la fille," as she rolled her hoop in the Luxembourg Gardens or on the lawns of Buckingham Palace.

"Kings," she called the elderly monarch, who, when he came to tea at Mrs. Keppel's house, used to slide a piece of buttered toast down one trouser leg. Violet a piece down the other, both players betting on the winner. These were Violet's halcyon days, truly the time of her life, passed in the splendour and fairy-tale charm of her mother's

exquisite apartments in London and Paris, in castles and villas and pleasure-domes, among the storied people of the fashionable world.

ALTHOUGH SHE lived in enviable style, mostly in Paris after she was grown up, she was never able to recapture the perfection of those years between four and 12, nor indeed of simply being the daughter of Alice Keppel. Perhaps because she knew she could never succeed in replicating her mother's enchantment — the "atmosphere... luminous, resplendent," that Mrs. Keppel, in Violet's own words, created — she chose notoriety. If the name of Violet Trefusis is dropped at all, it is in connection with Vita Sackville-West, Mrs. Harold Nicolson. Nigel Nicolson's sensational book about his mother's affair with Violet has brought both women to our attention. It remains for this biography to fill in the details.

It is, of course, fun to read about the whipped cream of the Edwardian era, but M. Julian must carry out his biographical obligations and in doing so becomes rather tiresome about the on-again, off-again quality of the *grande passion*. It is difficult to credit Violet's purple protestations of love for Vita, partly because she adored scenes and dramatized herself ceaselessly and partly because she always had one or two young men around on whom she also lavished highly



personal favours.

Once the long intense affair is over — with promises of undying love on the part of both women and civilized assurances on the part of Sir Harold — M. Julian must follow Violet down her multifarious literary, social, and sexual path to ignominious death amid riches, luxury, and often bought friendships. This is a route with fewer surprises even than the doomed *l'abbé d'Amboise* de cour.

VIOLET was in many ways a marvelous writer, capricious, whimsical, allusive, apparently as versatile in French as in English; Mr. Phillips has done well to include a sampling of other than love letters. But no matter how delectable or how charged her prose it remains in a curious way

soulless. Even the rapt delivery of herself by letter to Vita seems deliberate, begun in her head and transferred to the page without travelling to her heart.

The "I" dominates: I am bored, I am lonely, I have lost my freedom, put yourself in my place; and, as an adjunct to the dominating "I," the need to be witty, *souignée*, desirable nearly overpowers the need for her beloved.

Her memoirs, in contrast, are lively, amusing, poisonous with gossip. Funnies were irresistible; they pepper the pages: "The only incongruous object in the house was Betty herself. Just under six feet tall, decorative, muscular, the belle in the china shop. Nobody was funnier than she, her farce was her fortune." How welcome after:

"I am simply dazed and sodden with pain; it seems incredible that I should go on living — how can I bear it, how can I bear it? My God, my God, and happiness was so near.... I shall go mad, I know I shall... and we had got away — and my darling, my darling, my heart is simply breaking. I can hardly hold the pen."

Of course, reading somebody else's letters, let alone love letters, is for many of us visual eavesdropping, and letters about a love neither shared nor particularly believable are embarrassing and boring, not necessarily in that order. Too bad, because these outpourings have their clear sources in bleak pain and unshakable adoration. But as versatile in French as in English; Mr. Phillips has done well to include a sampling of other than love letters. But no matter how delectable or how charged her prose it remains in a curious way

Premature burial

SULAM YISRAEL: HALOM VEHEVRO: (The Dream and its Meaning) by Ariel Lova Ellav, Tel Aviv, Zmora Bittan Modan, 212 pp. No price given.

Arthur Saul Super

WHAT DOES a people do when a 2,000-year-old dream begins to turn into a waking nightmare? Is it more than a generation after its fulfillment? An exaggeration? Editorials in *The Jerusalem Post* and the jeremiads of its columnists are evidence enough. They coalesce into a gloomy picture: crazy labour relations in a tottering economy; a weak government; religious tensions leading to *Kulturkampf* and political anarchy; a social gap that isn't narrowing; a near breakdown in public medicine; a besieged Israel constantly threatened with paralysis of its sea and air traffic, and a burgeoning of corruption and crime — the latter with inept mafia-like aspects.

The list is almost endless; one does not have to wrack one's brain for examples. The positive indicators, the trailing glories of the dream, are much more difficult to tabulate.

Did all this happen by accident? Must we draw the somber conclusion that 2,000 years of exile have so distorted the Jewish people that it is no longer capable of successfully sustaining sovereign statehood? I have an instinctive gut reaction that makes me answer No to this question. But a sober analysis of the situation might reduce the force of this denial.

SUCH AN ANALYSIS has been undertaken by Israel's angriest man, Ariel Lova Ellav, in his book *Sulam Yisrael*, now available in a paperback edition in Hebrew. Ellav wants "to dissect the social body of Israel... to lay bare the

layers in our life: the skin, the fat, the muscles, the internal organs, the dung and the pus." He suggests that Israeli society began to decline with the gradual "bourgeoisisation" of the dominant Israeli Labour Movement. The Labour leadership became alienated from manual work. Lack of rotation kept the same feudal barons in control decade after decade. Their writ ran for the Yishuv, Israel, the Histadrut and the Jewish Agency.

As Israel became increasingly dependent on subsidies from abroad, and took on the character of a "handout" (*halukkah*) state, these impulses, whom Ellav dubs the "nobility," were able to control the destiny of the State because they determined the distribution of all that money.

After the Six Day War, the process of deterioration was accelerated. The same people now centralised a vast defence budget. New aristocracies emerged that derived their power from this some "nobility." Israeli society was now thoroughly infected by materialism. And over a million Arabs in the occupied territories were brought under Israeli rule.

These Arabs have the status of "natives" with no political rights. They soon provided a reservoir of that "black labour" which Jews in increasing numbers refused to do. Even some kibbutzim succumbed to temptation and hired Arab labour. Share-cropping and other evils sapped the traditional idealism of Israel's rural economy.

LACK OF government policy with regard to the "natives" has placed Israel in a dangerous security situation for which Ellav promulgates the classical "dovish" solution. Moreover, Arab labour plus the perpetuation of a *status quo* which holds over a million people in subjection, eats away at the very vitals of Zionist ideology.



Angry man Ariel 'Lova' Ellav

If Israel is inflicting on others the ills she suffered throughout the Exile, then the whole Jewish, prophetic ideal is impugned. The Zionist doctrine of rehabilitation of the Jew through labour is betrayed. Israel, the Zionist State, becomes a meaningless entity.

The sense of Jewish unity and national morality are also undermined by the problem of the Oriental Jewish communities in Israel. Here, again, we have failed, claims Ellav. We have deprived these people — whom he dubs "the screwed" — of their prestige, their culture, their self-respect and their proper "representation" in the life of Israel.

Our failures, over a period of 29 years, to resolve this problem, has helped to produce the selfish, materialistic, narrow, chauvinist and undisciplined Israel we have today.

The review of the problem of Israel's Arabs, torn between conflicting allegiances, falls in with the general pattern. Ellav calls these Arabs "the schizophrenics."

There are four options open to Israel today, argues Ellav. First, directed evolutionary change from within. Apart from social and economic reforms, this implies, according to Ellav, implementation of the "dove" policy of total withdrawal — but only in exchange for recognition and full peace. Ellav dismisses this option as most unlikely with the present *status quo* government in power.

Second, evolutionary change through external pressure. Ellav claims that because the government has no policy, internal and external changes are being forced on us by others. This leads to "creeping withdrawals and strange zig-zagging of temporary blustering stands and subsequent engulfing in it is breeding frustration, bitterness and complex... especially among the younger people."

Third, radical change through external pressure, namely war. After such a war, which might cost many thousands of Israeli lives and settle nothing, "there will be a revolution in Israel after the victory. The returning fighters will root out the government which brought them into this war." Four, directed radical change from within. An undirected radical change could take place as a result of a severe economic crisis following a civil war. A directed radical change might come from a mustering of forces under the "dovish-Zionist-social-democratic" banner. The sources for such a political alignment are carefully investigated and the platform is meticulously defined.

The bare outline given here cannot convey the breadth and depth of Ellav's social, economic and political analysis. He writes with passionate indignation. He presents a massive array of facts which often unbalance about exaggeration and overstatement. *Israel's Ladder* presents a challenge to the nation's conscience which cannot be ignored, and provides a bitter, healing draught to assuage the nausea of much latter-day Zionist humbug. □

Paris byline

THEODOR HERZL: Miboulanger ad Dreyfus 1891-95.

תודור הרצל: "מבולאנגר עד דרייפוס" 1891-1895

Theodore Herzl — From Boulanger to Dreyfus (1891-1895). Reports and political articles from Paris (including "Paris Boulevard") 1. Edited by A. Beland and M. Schierf and translated into Hebrew by Shlomo Meltzer. Jerusalem, The Zionist Library, 3 vols., 1, 225 pp. Illustrated. IL25.

Alexander Zvielli

FROM OCTOBER 1891 to July 1895, Herzl was the Paris correspondent of the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse*, one of the most influential newspapers in Central Europe. He became deeply absorbed by French political and social life, while the sudden growth of French anti-Semitism stirred his Jewish consciousness. In his will, he asked that all his writings during these years be published posthumously, apparently because they were the most impressive testimony to his transformation from diligent foreign correspondent to Jewish statesman.

As a correspondent, Herzl seldom mentioned the existence of the Jewish problem, which he initially believed to be social in nature, but he was an excellent and impartial analyst of the contemporary European scene. He reported daily on the pitiless struggle for power within the opportunistic French Republic, watched the emergence of socialism as a force, noted the impressive, if senseless, eruption of anarchy.

THE STUDENT riots of 1893, the visit of the Russian fleet to Toulon, the exploitation of anti-Semitism as a political weapon, made Herzl gradually more and more critical of France, which he had originally seen as the undisputed intellectual leader of Europe. The tone of his articles earned him the somewhat fanciful description, "Enemy of France," in the files of the secret police.

At the same time, Herzl continued to consider various mass solutions for the Jewish people. Starting with the concept of total assimilation as a solution for the younger generation, he moved on to the idea of a fruitful association with socialism. But the gradual realization that the French rejected all such associations, and the shock of the Dreyfus Affair, changed his opinions.

The staged trial of Dreyfus and the ugly behaviour of his fellow officers and the crowds destroyed Herzl's last illusions. The fact that the prosecution was afforded every facility, and the shouts of "Judas" and "Death to the Jews" ringing in his ears, made Herzl realize the utter futility of assimilation and a search for mutual understanding.

While these writings are an invaluable guide to all students of European and French beginnings of Zionism, they also throw new light on Herzl's personality. He was not only the dreamer and the prophet portrayed by posterity. He was, above all, a sober, astute and intelligent student of human nature, a great historian, and a powerful writer. □

Beyond Sadat

AFTER THE GUNS FALL SILENT: Peace or Armageddon in the Middle East By Mohamed Sid Ahmed, London, Croom Helm, 144 pp. £5.95.

BE-HIDDOM HA-TOTAHIM (After the Guns Fall Silent) By Mohamed Sid Ahmed, Tel Aviv, Am Oved, 180 pp. IL6

IN ITS ARABIC original, this book appeared in the summer of 1975, less than two years after the Yom Kippur War.

It is the author's conviction that this war, together with a new world constellation created by Superpower détente, changed the very basis of the Middle East conflict for the first time in almost 30 years there now obtains a state of some parity, or commensurability, between Israel and the Arabs.

For the first time, the Arabs have proved that they have a measure of Israeli "quality" on the battlefield; certain features of Arab "quantity," too, give them a qualitative edge.

Sid Ahmed's stylistic vein, incidentally, is no accident. He is a veteran Egyptian Marxist, one of the very few who have stuck to their views through thick and thin. As a senior editor on Cairo's *Al-Ahram*, he is currently all but excluded from active writing, what with the regime's deepening right-centre orientation.

Sid Ahmed, who may rightly be considered a harbinger of peace from Cairo, goes somewhat further than even President Sadat has gone in his most recent pronouncements. He envisages "a functional role" for Israel in a peaceful Middle East, making it clear however that Israel cannot acquire such a role "as long as it does not convince the Arab countries that it is no longer the embodiment of a project alien to their fate or directed against them." However, while advocating the renunciation of the use of force and recognition of Israel within her pre-1967 borders, Sid Ahmed's ultimate vision is that "the Zionist achme will perish at its zenith. The very instant of its completion will signal its extinction." This reasoning is based on the premise that Israel ultimately cannot survive the pressures of its surroundings, into which in the end she will have to integrate. One assumes that those Israelis who harbour no doubts about Israel's ability to maintain her distinctive characteristics in peacetime will not be put off by this piece of speculation.

Be-Hiddom Ha-Totahim is not a full Hebrew rendering of Sid Ahmed's book. However, the very considerable parts which are translated are a faithful rendering of the original — which is more than can be said about the English version here offered not as translation but as a work in its own right. Both versions omit Part One of the original, dealing as it does with futurology. Part Four, which has détente as its subject, is absent from the Hebrew translation but included in the English version.

The Hebrew translation, done by the Middle East Research Division of the Truman Institute, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has a useful appendix in which some of the reactions to Sid Ahmed's book in the Arab world are summarized. □ N.R.

Company for the Development of Old Yafa Ltd. Iriat Tel Aviv-Yafa Dept. for Culture, Youth and Sport

Invite citizens of Yafa and visitors to

Independence Day Eve Celebrations in Old Yafa

beginning at 8.00 p.m.

- ★ Entertainment programme at Gan Hapisa Amphitheatre
- ★ Public dancing at Kikar Kedumin
- ★ Short films

Free Admission

celebrate fifty-two times a year

THE JERUSALEM POST Please send me The Jerusalem Post International Edition for 52 weeks (one year) □ 26 weeks (6 months) □

Enclosed is my check or money order based on the subscription rates below:

U.S.A., Canada, Central America, South Africa	26 weeks	52 weeks
	\$14.00	\$25.00
U.K., Europe		\$20.00
South America, Japan, Australia, New Zealand		\$30.00

Mail to: The Jerusalem Post International Edition, 110 East 59th Street, N.Y.C. N.Y. 10022 or P.O.B. 61, Jerusalem, Israel.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

I want to send a gift subscription to: Name _____ Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

My check for _____ is enclosed Please include a gift card in my name: _____

*Use whichever address seems convenient. New subscriptions and changes effective within 3-4 weeks.

No need to tell your friends about Jerusalem! Just give them the book

by JOAN COMAY and DAVID HARRIS

Photography by DAVID HARRIS

It says it all, in vivid prose; It shows it all in brilliant colour

Price in Israel: IL78. Incl. V.A.T. (Price in the U.S.A.: \$32.50)

Joint Publication in Israel: Nateev — Printing and Publishing Enterprise Ltd. & Steimatzky

Steimatzky's Agency Ltd. JERUSALEM • TEL-AVIV • HAIFA • LYDDA AIRPORT

For an enjoyable time Buy enough books to take along on your Yom Ha'atzmaut picnic! Congratulations on Israel's 29th Anniversary

8 Babel Yosef Du News, Jerusalem DAILY 9-7 FRIDAY 9-2

Himmler's lice

DACHAU: THE OFFICIAL HISTORY 1933-1945 by Paul Berben, London, Tho Norfolk Press, 300 pp. £5.95.

Rubert D. Kaplan

TIDIED UP, with most block-houses gone, and located by an innocuous-looking Bavarian town in sight of the Alps, the Dachau memorial does not evoke the horror of the Holocaust as do the less purified sites in Poland — particularly Auschwitz, where the dormitories still stand near a dismal industrial area. Nor is Dachau's existence as adequately publicised as that of similar camps in East Germany: "When in Weimar it is required that you visit Buchenwald," a Communist official said upon handing me a prepared itinerary.

But at least it exists, so no one can forget. Anything erected or written about the Holocaust is significant, no matter how marginal. "If the echo of their voices grows faint, we shall perish," reads the dedication to this official history, which fortunately is worthwhile in its own right.

First published in French nine years ago, the book was written

by a Belgian general and commissioned by the International Dachau Committee, which began as a clandestine prisoners' group during the camp's operational years and continued after its liberation to act as a representative for survivors.

The prose, unfortunately, is not up to the level of the research. Adjectives are often sloppily used in places where facts alone would be sufficient. A particular group of S.S. officers is referred to as "real murderers." Does that mean the other Nazis at Dachau weren't "real murderers?" But in this case the bare facts are so devastating that good writing would be almost superfluous. Every aspect of camp life is documented — the types of illnesses and punishments, the way badsheets were required to be folded, mail regulations, the diet of the guard dogs opposed to that of the prisoners, the way records were doctored to conceal the mass executions of Russian officers, how the imprisoned clergy secretly conducted religious services, and so on.

THE BOOK'S 35 appendices contain such information as the names and ages of the Russian soldiers shot by firing squads, the



dates and points of departure of all the trainloads of prisoners that arrived at the camp, and the S.S. penal code.

In such a heap of gruesome details, it is the little things that inflame the reader's imagination. "Mail censorship was strict and petty. Sometimes it was vile, as for example when a prisoner was summoned to be told: 'Your mother has died; you needn't write, she's already been buried.' And: 'Half an hour after reveille no one was permitted to go to the toilets. When men were suffering from diarrhoea, there were scenes that defy description.'"

Berben points out that contrary to popular belief, many of the S.S. guards at Dachau were not crazed sadists, but men fully and coldly aware of what they were doing. He quotes S.S. leader Heinrich Himmler: "To get rid of one's lice is not an ideological question. It is simply a question of cleanliness. Therefore anti-Semitism has not been an ideological matter, but one of simple cleanliness which will soon be cleared up: soon we shall be deloused."

Over 200,000 prisoners passed through Dachau, of whom well over 30,000 died. When the camp was liberated by the Americans in April 1945, there were 67,968 inmates, a third of whom were Jews.

In an age when "genocides" is flippantly used to describe all kinds of oppression, this book sets the record straight on the real meaning of the word. □

Acts of heroism abounded in the Hell of Dachau, the first concentration camp which was used as a prototype for all the others. Medical records were falsified in order to keep prisoners who were near death in hospital — an action punishable by execution. Work on the crematorium was sabotaged often. When word leaked out that 82 Russians were to be executed, the prisoners refused to form work parties that day. Secret combat groups were formed when liberation was near.

BERBEN POINTS out that contrary to popular belief, many of the S.S. guards at Dachau were not crazed sadists, but men fully and coldly aware of what they were doing. He quotes S.S. leader Heinrich Himmler: "To get rid of one's lice is not an ideological question. It is simply a question of cleanliness. Therefore anti-Semitism has not been an ideological matter, but one of simple cleanliness which will soon be cleared up: soon we shall be deloused."

Over 200,000 prisoners passed through Dachau, of whom well over 30,000 died. When the camp was liberated by the Americans in April 1945, there were 67,968 inmates, a third of whom were Jews.

In an age when "genocides" is flippantly used to describe all kinds of oppression, this book sets the record straight on the real meaning of the word. □